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THE STANDARD.

ADDRESS OF THEODORE PARKER,

Delivered before the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the City of New York, May 7,

ON THE PRESENT CRISIS IN AMERICAN POLITICAL AFFAIRS —THE WAR OF CAPITAL AGAINST LABOUR—THE ATTEMPT TO ROB THE WORKING MILLIONS OF ALL SHARE IN THE PUBLIC LANDS.

AMERICA has now come to such a pass that a small misstep may plunge us into lasting misery. Any other and older nation would be timidly conscious of the peril; but we, both so confident of destined triumph and so wonted to success, forecast only victory, and so heed none of all this danger. Who knows what is before us? By way of warning, look at the events in the last six years.

1. In the Spring of 1850 came the discussions on the Fugitive Slave bill, and the programme of Practical Atheism, for it was taught, as well in the Senate as the Pulpits, that the American government was amenable to no Natural Laws of God, but its own momentary caprice might take the place of the Eternal Reason. "The Union is in danger" was the affected cry. Violent speeches filled the land, and officers of the government uttered such threats against the people of the North as only Austrian and Russian ears were wont to hear. Even "discussion was to cease." That year the principle was sowed, whence measures have since sprung forth, an evil blade from evil seed.

2. The next Spring, 1851, kidnapping went on in all the North. Kane ruled in Philadelphia, Rynders in New York; Boston opened her arms to the stealers of men, who barked in her streets and howled about the Cradle of Liberty, the hiding-place of her ancient power. All the municipal authority of the town was delivered up to the kidnapper. Faneuil Hall was crammed with citizen soldiers, volunteers, eager for their

"Glorious first essay in war."

Visible chains of iron were proudly stretched round the Court House; the Supreme Judges of Massachusetts crouched their loins beneath that yoke of bondage, and went under to their own place, wherein they broke down the several laws they were sworn and paid to keep. They gave up Thomas Sims to his tormentors. On the 19th of April, the 76th anniversary of the first battle of the Revolution, the city of Hancock and Adams thrust one of her innocent citizens into a slave prison at Savannah, giving his back to the scourge, and his neck to the everlasting yoke.

3. In the Spring of 1854 came the discussions on the Kansas-Nebraska bill; the attempt to extend slavery into the new territory just opening its arms to the industrious North; the attempt to rob the Northern labourer thereof, and give the spoils to Southern capital. Then came the second kidnapping at Boston; a Judge of Probate stole a defenceless man, and made him a slave. The old volunteer soldiers put on their regimentals again, to steal another victim. But they were not quite strong enough alone; so the United States soldiers were called out to aid the work of protecting the orphan. It was the first time I ever saw soldiers enforcing the decisions of a New England Judge of Probate; the first time I ever saw the United States soldiers in any service. This was characteristic work for a democratic army! hireling soldiers, mostly Irishmen—sober that day, at least till noon—in the public square, loaded their cannon, charged their muskets, fixed their bayonets, and made ready to butcher the citizens soon as a slaveholder should bid them strike a Northern neck. The spectacle was prophetic.

4. Now, in 1856, New England men migrate to Kansas, taking their wives, their babies, and their cradles. The Old Bible goes also on that pilgrimage—it never fails the sons of the Puritans. But the fathers are not yet dead,

"E'en in our ashes live their wonted fires."

Sharp's rifle goes as missionary in that same troop; an indispensable missionary, an apostle to the Gentiles, whose bodily presence is not weak, nor his speech contemptible, in Missouri. All the parties go armed. Like the father, the pilgrim son is also a Puritan, and both trusts in God and keeps his powder dry.

A company went from Boston a few days ago, some of my own friends and parishioners among them. There were some five-and-forty persons, part women and children. Twenty Sharp's rifles answered to their names, not to speak of other weapons. The ablest minister in the United States stirs up the "Plymouth Church" to contribute rifles to this new mission, and a spirit, noble as Davenport and Hooker, pushes off from New England, again to found a New Haven in the wilderness. The bones of the regicide sleeps in Connecticut, but the revolutionary soul of fire flames forth in new processions of the Holy Ghost.

In 1656, when Boston sent out her colonists, they took matchlocks and snaphances to fend off the red savage of the wilderness; in 1756, they needed weapons only against the French enemy. But, in 1856, the dreadful tools of war are to protect their children from the white border-ruffians, whom the President of the United States invites to burn the new settlements, to scalp and kill.

In 1850, we heard only the threat of arms; in 1851, we saw the volunteer muskets in the kidnapper's hand; in 1854, he put the United States cannon in battery; in 1856, he arms the savage Missourians. But now also there are tools of death in the people's hand. It is high time, when the people are sheep, the government is always a wolf. What will the next step be? Mr. Cushing says he knows "what is requisite, but it is *means that I cannot suggest.*" Who knows what *coup d'état* is getting ready? Surely affairs cannot remain long in this condition.

Now, to understand this present emergency, you must go a long ways back, and look a little carefully at what lies deep down in the foundation of States.

The Welfare of a nation consists in these three things, namely: first, possession of material comfort, things of use and beauty; second, enjoyment of all the natural rights of body and spirit; and third, the development of the natural faculties of body and spirit in their harmonious order, securing the possession of freedom, intelligence, morality, philanthropy and piety. It ought to be the aim of a nation to obtain these three things in the highest possible degree, and to extend them to all persons therein. That nation has the most welfare which is the furthest advanced in the possession of these three things.

Next, the Progress of a nation consists in two things —first, in the increasing development of the natural faculties of body and spirit—intellectual, moral, affectional and religious, with the consequent increasing enjoyment thereof; and second, in the increasing acquisition of power over the material world, making it yield use and beauty, an increase of material comfort and elegance. Progress is increase of human welfare for each and for all. That is the most progressive nation which advances fastest in this development of human faculties, and the consequent acquisition of material power.

There is no limit to this progress. That is a superior nation which by nature has the greatest amount of bodily and spiritual faculties, and by education has developed them to the highest degree of human culture, and consequently is capacious of the greatest amount of power over the material world, to turn it into use and beauty, and so of the greatest amount of universal welfare for all and each. The superior nation is capable of most rapid progress, for the advance of man goes on with accelerated velocity.

The disposition in mankind to acquire this increase of human development and material power I will call the instinct of Progress. It exists in different degrees in various nations and races; some are easily content with a small amount thereof, and so advance but slowly; others desire the most of both, and press continually forward.

Of all races, the Caucasian has hitherto shown the most of this instinct of progress, and, though perhaps the youngest of all, has got on the furthest in the development of the human faculties and in the acquisition of power over the material world; it has already won the most welfare, and makes the swiftest progress.

Of the various familes of the Caucasian race, the Teutonic, embracing all the Germanic people kindred to our own, is now the most remarkable for this instinct of progress. Accordingly, in the last four hundred years, all the great new steps of peaceful Caucasian development have been first taken by the Teutonic people, who now bear the same relation to the world's progress that the Greeks did a thousand years before Christ, the Romans eight hundred years later, and the Romanized Celts of France at a yet later day.

Of the Teutons, the Anglo-Saxons, or that portion thereof settled in the Northern States of America, have got the farthest forward in certain important forms of welfare, and now advance the most rapidly in their general progress. With no class of capitalists or scholars equal to the men of great estates and great learning in Europe, the whole mass of the people have yet attained the greatest material comfort, enjoyment of natural rights, and development of the human faculties. They feel most powerfully the general instinct of progress, and advance swiftest to future welfare and development. Here the bulk of the population is Anglo-Saxon, but this powerful blood has been enriched by additions from divers other sources—Teutonic and Celtic.

The great forces which, in the last four hundred years, have most powerfully and obviously helped this welfare and progress may be reduced to two marked tendencies, which I will sum up in the form of ideas, and name the one Christianity and the other Democracy.

By Christianity I mean that form of religion which consists in piety—the love of God, and morality—the keeping of His laws. That is not the Christianity of the Christian Church, nor of any sect; it is the ideal religion, which the human race has been groping after, if haply we might find it.

By Democracy, I mean government over all the people, by all the people, and for the sake of all. Of course, it is government according to the natural Law of God, by justice, the point common to each man and all men, to each nation and all mankind, to the human race and to God. In a democracy, the people reign with sovereign power; their servants govern with delegated trust. There is national unity of action, represented by law; this makes the nation one, a whole; it is the centripetal force of society. But there is also individual variety of action, represented by the personal freedom of the people, who ultimately make the laws; this makes John John, and not James, the individual a free person, discrete from all other men; this is the centrifugal force of society, which counteracts the excessive solidification that would else go on. Thus, by justice, the one and the many are balanced together, as the centripetal and centrifugal forces in the solar system.

This is not the democracy of the parties, but it is that ideal government, the reign of righteousness, the kingdom of justice, which all noble hearts long for and labour to produce, the ideal whereunto mankind slowly draws near. No nation has yet come so close to it as the people of some of the Northern States, who are yet far beneath ideals of government not known, that are yet themselves vastly inferior to others which mankind shall one day voyage after, discover, and annex to human possession.

In this democracy and the tendency towards it, two things come to all, namely, Labour and Government. Labour for material comfort, the means of use and beauty —this is the duty of all, and not less the right, and practically the lot of all; so there is no privilege for any, where each has natural right. Of course, there is no permanently and vicariously idle class, born merely to enjoy and not create, who live by the unpurchased toil of others; and accordingly there is no permanent and vicariously working class, born merely to create and not enjoy, who toil only for others. There is mutuality of earning and enjoying, none compelled to work vicariously for another, none allowed to rob others of the natural fruit of their toil. Of course, each works at such calling as his nature demands; on the *mare liberum*, the open sea of human industry, every bark sails whither it may, and with such freight and swiftness as it will or can.

Government, in social and political affairs, is the right of all, not less their duty, and practically the lot of each. So there is no privilege in politics, no lordly class born to command and not obey, no slavish class born to serve and not command; there is mutuality of command and obedience; and as there is no compulsory vicarious work, but each takes part in the labour of all and has his share in the enjoyment thereof, so there is no vicarious government, but each takes part in the making of laws and in obedience thereunto.

Such is the ideal democracy, nowhere made actual.

Practically, labour and government are the two great forces in the education of mankind. These take the youth where schools and colleges leave him and carry him further up to another seminary, where he studies for what honours he will, and graduates into such degrees as he can attain to.

This sharing of labour and government is the indispensable condition for human government; for if any class of men personally withdraws itself from labour, first it parts from its human sympathy; next it becomes debauched in its several powers; and presently it loses its masculine vigour and its feminine delicacy, and dies at last a hideous ruin. Do you doubt what I say? Look, then, at the Roman aristocracy from two centuries before Christ to four centuries after—at the French aristocracy from Louis XIII. to Louis XVI.

If any class of men is withheld from government—from its share in organizing the people into social, political and ecclesiastical forms, from making and executing the laws —then that class loses its manhood and womanhood, dwindles into meanness and insignificance, and also must perish. For example, look at the populace of Rome from the second century before Christ to the fourth after; look at the miserable people of Naples and Spain, too far gone ever to be raised out of the grave where they are buried now; look at the inhabitants of Ireland, whose only salvation consists in flight to a new soil, where they may have a share in political government, as well as in economic labour.

So much for the definition of terms frequently to be used, and the statement of the great principles which lie at the foundation of human progress and welfare.

Now, in the history of a nation there are always two forces which operate—one positive, the other negative. One I will call the Progressive Force. It is that instinct of progress just named, with the sum total of all the excellencies of the people—their hopefulness, human sympathy, virtue, religion, piety. This is the power to advance. The other I will call the Regressive Force—that is, the *vis inertiæ*, the sluggishness of the people, the sum total of all the people's laziness and despair, all the selfishness of a class, all the vice and anti-religion. This is power to retard. I do not speak of the conservative force which would keep, or the destructive force which would wastefully consume, but only of those named. The destructive force in America is now small.

Every nation has somewhat of the progressive force, each likewise something of the regressive. Let me illustrate this regressive force a little further. You sometimes in the country find a thriving, hardy family, industrious, temperate, saving, thrifty, up early and down late. By some unaccountable misfortune there is born into the family, and grows up there, a lazy boy. He is weak in the knees, drooping in the neck, is limber in the loins, and sluggish all over. He rises late in the morning, after he has been called many times, and in the dog-days comes down whilst his mother is getting breakfast, and hangs over the fire. Most of you have doubtless seen such; I have, to my sorrow. That is one form of the regressive force. He is what the Bible calls a heaviness to his mother and a grief to his father. There is a worse retarding force than this, to wit: sometimes a bad boy is born into the family with head enough, but with a devilish heart; he is a malformation in respect to all the higher faculties—a destructive form of the regressive force. Now a nation may have that regressive force in these two forms—the lazy retardative, the wicked destructive.

Sometimes this progressive force seems limited to a small class of persons—men of genius, like the Hebrew prophets, the Socratic philosophers, the German reformers of the sixteenth century, or the French savants of the eighteenth. But it is not likely it is thus limited, for these men of genius are merely trees of the common kind, rooted into the public soil, but grown to taller stature than the rest.

In the Northern States of America, and also in England and Scotland, it is plain this progressive force is widely spread among the great mass of the people, who act not only instinctively, but of set purpose, eager for are . . . that is, for increasing development of faculties, progress, consequent increasing power over the material and for coming it to use and beauty. New England world, transfo is a monument attesting this fact. But still this force arrives to its highest form in men of genius. Here in the North, you may find men of money, men of education—men of literary culture and scientific skill—men of talent, able to learn readily what can now be taught, who do not share this progressive instinct, whose will is regressive; but these are exceptional men—some maimed by accident, others impotent from their mother's womb, whom no Peter and John could make otherwise than halt and lame. But all the men of genius—aboriginal power of sight, ability to create, to know and teach what none learned before—are on the side of this progressive force. In all the Northern States there is not one exception—among the men of politics, science, art, letters or religion. Even in his Northern cradle the Herculean genius strangles the regressive snakes of Fogydom. Still, these men of genius are not the cause of the progressive force—only expressions of it; not its exclusive depositories: they are the thunder and lightning, perhaps the rain, out of the cloud, sparks from the electric charge; they are not the cloud; they did not make it. Of course, where the cloud is fullest of the fire of heaven, there is the reddest lightning and the heaviest thunder, and the most abounding rain. Still, the men of genius did not make the progressive spirit of the North; they but express and help to educate that force.

In the North, those two educational factors, Labour and Government, are widely diffused, more persons partake of each than anywhere else in the world. So there is no exclusive, permanent, servile class, none that does all the work and enjoys none of the results. There is no exclusive and permanent ruling class; all are masters, all servants; all command and all obey.

So much for the progressive force.

The Regressive Force may consist in the general sluggishness of the whole mass of the people: there it will be either an ethnological misfortune, which belongs to the constitution of the race—and I am sorry to say that the Africans share that in the largest degree, and accordingly have advanced the least of any of the races—or else an historic accident entailed on them by oppression; and that is the case also with a large portion of the Africans in America. But among the Caucasians, especially among the Teutons, this regressive force is chiefly lodged in certain classes of men who are exceptional to the mass of the people, by an accidental position separated therefrom, and possessed of power thereover, which they use for their own selfish advantage and against the interest of the people. They commonly aim at two things—to shun all the labour, and to possess all the government.

The exceptional position was either the accidental attainment of the individual or else a trust thereto delegated from the people; but the occupiers of the trust considered it at length as their natural, personal right, and so held to it as a finality, and asked mankind to stop the human march in order that they might rejoice in their special occupation. Thus the fletchers of the fourteenth century, who got their bread by making bows and arrows, opposed the use of gunpowder and cannon. Thus the scribes of the fifteenth century opposed printing, and said Dr. Faustus was possessed by the devil. In England, two hundred years ago, every top-sawyer resisted the use of saw mills to cut logs into boards, and wanted to draw off the water from the ponds. Forty years ago, the hand-weaver of England opposed power looms. In 1840 the worshipful company of ass-drivers in Italy begged the Pope of Rome not to allow a single railroad in his territory, because it would injure their property invested in packsaddles and jackasses. The Pope consented, and no steam-engine dared to whistle in the papal State. In Boston, twenty years ago, the Irishmen objected to steam pile-drivers, and broke them to pieces; just now, the stevedores of Boston insist that ships shall not be unladen by horses or steam power, but that man, who yet has a head, shall live only by the great muscles in his arms; that all merchandise shall be taken out of ships by an Irishman hanging at the other end of the rope. All these men consider that their exceptional position and accidental business is a finality of human history, a natural right, which the top-sawyer, the scribe and the others have, to stop mankind. The stevedore and hand-loom weaver must have no competitors in the labour market; the steam-engine must be shoved off the track, in order that the donkey may have the whole country wherein to bray and wheeze.

In Europe, at this day, this regressive force is found in the two-fold aristocracy which exists there, ecclesiastical and political. In the sixteenth century mankind, and especially the Teutonic family, longed to have more Christianity, and the priestly class, with the Pope at their head, refused, hewed the people to pieces, burnt them to ashes at Madrid and Oxford. The priest stood between the people and the Bible, and said: "The word of God belongs to us, it is for the priests only, not for you, you infidels; down with you!" The priest counted his stand as the stopping place of mankind; the human race must not go an inch further—he would kill all that tried; the result attained was a finality. So the sinner must be burned alive that the ass-driver might have the whole world to snap his fingers in and cough to his donkey! Even now the same class of men repeat the old experiment—and in Italy, Spain and Spanish America the regressive power carries the day.

In this century, when the people of Europe wished to move on a little nearer to democracy than before, the political class of aristocrats refused to suffer it; they put men of political genius in jail, or hung them. Kossuth and Mazzini were lucky men to escape to a foreign land; thousands fled to America. In Europe at present, and especially on the continent, this regressive power carries the day, and the progressive force is held down. For kings and nobles, inheriting a position which was once the highest that mankind had attained to, and then taking it as a trust, now count it a right of their own, a finality of the human race, the end of man's progress.

When a nation permanently consents to this triumph of the regressive over the progressive force, allows one class to do all the government and shun all the labour, it is presently all over with that people. Look at Italy, with Rome and Naples; at Spain, which is too far gone even to be galvanized into life; see what already takes place in France, where the son of the nephew has just been born, and the little baby is recognised as Emperor. Compare an election day in Massachusetts, where the people choose one of themselves to be their temporary Governor, responsible to them, swearing him on their statute-book—compare that with the preparation which Napoleon the Little made to anticipate the birth of Napoleon the Least. Why, the garments got ready for this equivocal baby have already cost more than all the clothes of all the American Presidents since "a young buckskin taught a British General the art of fighting." Look at New England, and then at Spain to see the odds between a people that has the progressive force uppermost, and a nation where the regressive force has trod the people down, and become—as it must—destructive. The Romanic nations of Italy and Spain, and the Romanized Celts of France, consent to a despotism which puts all the labour on the people and takes all the government from them; they easily enough accept the rule of the political and ecclesiastical aristocracy. But the Teutons, especially the Saxon Teutons, and, above all others, those in the Northern States of America, with their immense love of individual liberty, hate despotism, either political or ecclesiastical. They perpetually demand more Christianity and democracy, that each shall do his own work and rejoice in its result—that each shall have his share in the government of all. The women, long excluded from this latter right, now claim, and will at length, little by little, gain it. When all thus share the burthens and the joys of life, there is no class of men compelled by their position to hate society, so law and order prevail with ease, each keeps step with all, nor wishes to stay the march, property is secure, the government popular. But when one class does the ruling and forces all the toil on another class, nothing is certain but trouble and violence. Thus in St. Domingo red rebellion wiped black despotism out of the land but with blood. If a government, like a pyramid, be wide at the bottom, it takes little to hold it up.

So much for the regressive force.

In the United States we have two peoples in one nation —similar in origin, united in their history, but for the last two generations so diverse in their institutions, their mode of life, their social and political aims, that now they have become exceedingly unlike, even alien and hostile. For though both the stems grow out from the same ethnologic root, one of them has caught such a mildew from the ground it hangs over, and the other trees it mixes its boughs among, that its fruit has become "peculiar" and not like the native produce of the sister trunk. One of these I will call the Northern States, the other Southern States. At present there is a governmental bond put round both which holds them together; but no moral union makes the two one. There is no unity of idea between them.

In the Northern States we have a population fifteen millions strong, mainly of Anglo-Saxon origin, but early crossed with other Teutonic blood—Dutch, German, Scandinavian—which bettered the stock. Of late numerous Celts have been added to the mixture, but so recently that no considerable influence yet appears in the collective character, ideas or institutions of the North. A hundred years hence the fruits of this other seed will show itself.

These Northern Saxons, moreover, are mainly descended from men who fled from Europe because they had ideas, at least sentiments, of Christianity and democracy which could not be carried out at home. They are descended from Puritan pilgrims, who were the most progressive portion of the most progressive people—of the most progressive stock in all Christendom. They came to America, not for ease, honour, money nor love of adventure; but for conscience sake, for the sake of their Christianity and their democracy. Such men founded the chief Northern colonies and institutions, and have controlled the doctrines and the development thereof to a great degree.

We see the result of such parentage; more than all other nations of the earth, the North has cut loose from the past and set its face towards the future. At one extreme it has no lordly class, ecclesiastical or political, exclusively and permanently to shun labour and monopolize government, vicariously to enjoy the result of work, vicariously to rule; and at the other extreme, there is no class slavishly and unwillingly to do the work and have none of its rewards, to suffer all the obedience and enjoy none of the command. No class is permanent. The Northern States are progressively Christian; also progressively democratic, in the sense just given of Christianity and democracy. No people on earth has such material comfort, such enjoyment of natural rights of body and spirit already possessed, such general development of the human faculties. But the attainment does not satisfy us, for we share this instinct of progress to such a degree that no achievement will content us; be the present harvest never so rich, our song is

"To-morrow to fresh fields and pastures new."

No nation has such love of liberty, such individual variety of action, or such national unity of action; nowhere is such respect for law; nowhere is property so secure, life so safe, and the individual so little disturbed. And with all this, we are not at all destructive, but eager to create and patient to preserve. The first thing which a Northern man lays hold of is a working tool, an axe or a plough; the last thing he takes in his hand is a fighting tool, a bowie-knife, a rifle, and he never touches that till he is driven to the last extremity.

So much for the nation North.

Next there are the Southern States, ten millions in population. There also the original germ was Anglo-Saxon, to which additions were made from other stocks, Teutonic and Celtic, though in a smaller degree; France and Spain added largely to the mixture. But what has most affected the ethnological character of the South is the African element. There are three-and-a-half millions of men in the Southern States of African origin, whereof half a million are (acknowledged) mulattoes, African Caucasians; these half-breeds are much more numerous than the census dares confess.

This is not the only human difference between the North and the South. While the Saxons, who originally came to the North, and have since controlled its institutions and ideas, were mainly pilgrims, who, driven by persecution, fled hither for the sake of establishing democracy and Christianity—the foremost people in an age of movement when revolution shook the whole Teutonic world, bringing the most Christian and democratic institutions and ideas of their age, and developing them to forms still more human and progressive—the settlers of the South came to America to mend their fortunes, for the sake of money, ease, honour, love of adventure. Whilst subsequently emigrants came from Europe to the North of their own accord, shared the Northern labour and Government, partook of its Christianity and democracy, shared its best influences, and soon mingled their blood in the great stream of Northern population; many persons from Africa were forced to immigrate to the South, and by legal violence compelled to more than their share of labour, driven from all the share in the government, branded as inferior, and mingled with the Caucasian population only in illicit lust—which bastardized its own sons and daughters—and were made subordinate to the owners' lash. While the North, from 1626 to 1856, has aimed to spread education over all the land, and facilitate the acquisition of property by the individual, and prevent its entailment in families, or its excessive accumulation by transient corporations—the South has always endeavoured to limit education, making it the exclusive monopoly of the few —who yet learned not much—and now makes it a State prison offence to teach the labouring class to read and write; it aims to condense money into large sums, permanently held, if not in families, at least in a class.

Thus, at one extreme, the South had formed a permanently idle and lordly class who shun labour and monopolize government.

The South culminates in Virginia and South Carolina, which bear the same relation to the slave States that New England does to the free States; that is, they are the mother country of population, ideas, institutions and character. As I just said, Christendom cannot boast a population in any other country where there are fifteen millions of men so nobly developed as the fifteen millions of the North—so far advanced in Christianity and Democracy; with so much material comfort, enjoyment of natural rights and development of natural powers. Compare New England with England, Scotland, France, Saxony, Belgium, Prussia, any of the foremost nations of Europe, and you will see that it is so. But take the ten millions of the South and see what they are. Three and a quarter millions are actual slaves. Nowhere in Europe, north of Turkey and west of Russia, can you find ten millions of contiguous men who have so low a development, intellectual, moral, affectional and religious, as the ten millions of the slave States; nowhere can you find Caucasians or any other people in Western Europe so slightly advanced above the savage. Take the two States of Virginia and South Carolina, in which the South comes to its flower. There are 1,170,000 whites, 920,000 coloured, whereof 860,000 are slaves; that is to say, out of two millions, more than one-third are only human property, not counted as human persons. In South Carolina, out of a hundred native whites over twenty years of age, there are seven who cannot read the name Pierce, the political lord they worship. In Virginia, out of a hundred native whites over twenty years, there are nine who cannot write the word slave, nor spell it after it is written all over their State. Whereas, in Massachusetts, out of four hundred persons over twenty, there is only one man who cannot write, with his own hand, Liberty for all men, now and forever!

Take the two million population of Virginia and South Carolina, there is no people in Western Europe so little advanced as they, and in all Christendom there are only two nations or collections of men who stand on the same level—the Russian empire and Spanish America! Behold the reason for the phenomenon which struck many with surprise—that South Carolina and Virginia, in their politics, have recently sympathized with Russia and Brazil: Birds of a feather flock together; like consorting with like.

Here, then, are these two nations, alike in their ethnological origin, joint in their history, now utterly diverse and antagonistic in disposition and aims. The North has organized freedom, and seeks to extend it; the South bondage, and aims to spread that. The North is progressively Christian and democratic; while the South is progressively anti-Christian and undemocratic. First, only the Southern measures were anti-Christian and undemocratic; now, also its principles. It lays down anti-Christianity and anti-democracy as the only theory of religion and politics. In New England, man is put before property—the human substance above the material accident; in Virginia and South Carolina, property is put before man, the material accident before the human substance itself; and of all property, that which is most valued, and most carefully preserved, though most "aristocratic" and sacred, is property in the legs of men.

That is the odds between the North and the South.

Now the progressive power of America is lodged chiefly in the North, where it is diffused almost universally amongst the people, but most conspicuously comes to light in the men of genius. Accordingly, every man of scientific genius in the North is an anti-slavery man, and every poet of any genius also; and let me say that every preacher with any spark of Christian genius in him is a progressive man and hostile to slavery.

The Regressive Power is lodged chiefly at the South, where it is considerably diffused among the people. That comes partly from the ethnologic sluggishness of the African element mixed in with the population; but still more this diffusion comes from the degradation incident to a people who have long sat under tyrannical masters. It is this which has debased the Caucasian of Virginia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina. But as the progressive force of the North comes clearest to light in the men of genius, so the regressive force at the South is most shown in the men of eminent ability, ecclesiastical and political, of whom not a single man is publicly progressive in Christianity or Democracy. Compare the spirit of the great newspapers of the South, *The Richmond Examiner, The Charleston Mercury*, with those of the North, *The New York Tribune, The Evening Post*; compare the Southern politicians, the Masons and Toombs, with the Sewards and Chases of the North. See the odds between the mass of the people at the North and the South; between the eminent genius, all of which at the North is progressive, but all of which at the South turns its back on human progress, and would leave humanity behind. There is the difference.

This regressive force accepts slavery as the Dagon of its idolatry—its "peculiar institution"—and slavery is to the South what the Book of Mormon or the car of Juggernaut is to its worshippers. This institution is so iniquitous and base that in Christian Europe all the Teutonic nations have swept it away; and all the Celtic, all the Romanic nations, even the inhabitants of Spain, have trodden bondage under their feet. Yes, the Ugrians have driven out such slavery from Hungary, from Livonia, from Lapland itself; and of all parts of Europe, Russia and Turkey alone still keep the unclean thing; but there it is progressively diminishing—as a measure it is felt to be exceptional, and publicly denounced; as a principle, no man defends it; it is there as a fact, without a theory. Only two tribes in Christendom yet hold to the theory of this unholy thing—Spanish America and the slave part of Saxon America.

All the regressive power of Christendom gathers about American slavery, which is the stone of stumbling, the rock of offence in the world's progress.

This regressive force is mainly at the South; there it gathers about the institution of slavery, which is yet the great obstacle to the present welfare and future progress of the South itself. Slavery prevents the mass of the Southern people from the possession of material comfort, use and beauty; from the enjoyment of their natural rights; and also for the future it hinders them from the increasing development of their natural faculties, and the consequent increasing acquisition of power over the material world. At the South, it hinders Christianity and democracy, which it would destroy, or else itself must thereby be brought to the ground. It shuts the mass of the people from their share of the government of society, forces many to unnatural and vicarious toil, and robs them of the fruit of their labour. Thus it is the great obstacle to present welfare and future development.

The head-quarters of this force are at the South, where its avowed organization and its institutions may be found. At the North it has its allies; here they are:

(1.) The first class is of *base* men, such as are somewhat inhuman by birth, men organized for cruelty, as fools for folly, men that are idiotic in their conscience and heart and soul. If there had been no "inherited sin" up to last night, these men would have "originated" it the first thing this morning; if Adam had had no "fall," and the ground did not incline downward anywhere, they would dig a pit on their own account and leap down headlong of their own accord. These men are aboriginal kidnappers, and grow up amid the filth of great towns, sweltering in the gutters of the metropolitan pavement at Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York. Nay, you find them even at Boston, lurking in some office, prowling about the Court-House, sneaking into alleys, barking in the newspapers—to let their master know their whereabouts—turning up their noses in the streets, snuffing after some victim as the wind blows from Virginia or Georgia, and, generally, seeking whom they may devour. These are "earthly, sensual, devilish." For the honour of humanity, this class of men is exceedingly small, and like other poisonous vermin commonly bears its warning on its face.

The next class is of *mean* men, of large acquisitiveness or else a large love of approbation, little conscience, little affection, and only just religion enough to swear by. These men you can buy with office, honour, money, or with a red coat and a fife and drum. There are a great many such persons, you find them in many places, and for the disgrace of my own profession, I am sorry to say they are sometimes in the pulpit, taking a south-side view of all manner of tyranny, volunteering to send their mothers into bondage, and denying the higher laws of God.

The third class is *ignorant* men, who know no better, but may be instructed.

At the South this regressive force is thus diffused: (1.) There are three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, who, with their families, make up a population of a million and three-quarters; (2.) there are four and three-quarter million of non-slaveholders; and (3.) three and a half millions of slaves. A word of each.

First are the slaveholders. Slavery makes them rich; they own the greater part of the land and all the slaves, and control the greater part of the coloured or white labouring population. Slavery is a peculiar curse to the South, a peculiar comfort to the slaveholders. They monopolize the education, own the wealth, have all the political power of the South; the slaveholders are the "aristocracy" of the South. But since the American Revolution, this class has not born and bred a single man who has made any valuable contribution to the art, science, literature, morals or religion of the American people. "Marshall's Life of Washington" is the only great literary work of the South; its hero was born in 1732, its author in 1755—and both, Washington the hero and Marshall the writer, at their death abjured the "peculiar institution" of the South.

The Southern "aristocracy" rears two things: negro slaves, of which it is often the father, and politicians, who make the institutions to keep the slaves in bondage forever, shutting them out from Christianity and democracy. Behold the "aristocracy" of the South! By their fruits ye shall know them. Of the general morals of this class, I need not speak: "the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty." Since the first of January they have burned four negroes alive; as a joyous spectacle and "act of faith"—a sort of profession of Christianity, like the more ceremonious *Autos-da-fé* of their Spanish prototypes. Yet, amongst them are noble men. There are many who, but for their surroundings, would have stood among those eminent in talent, station, and in service, too, the fore-runners of human progress. Blame them for their wrong, pity them for the misfortune which they suffer. Yet let me do the South no injustice —her 350,000 slaveholders have ruled the nation for sixty years—her politicians have beat the North in all great battles.

Now, we commonly judge the South by the slaveholders. This is very wrong; it is like measuring England by her gentry, France and Germany by their men of science and letters, Italy by her priests. You shall judge what the whole mass of the people are when the "aristocracy," the picked men, is of that stamp.

Next are the non-slaveholders, four and three-quarter millions of men. Some of these are noble men, with property in land and goods, with some intelligence; but as a class they are both necessitous and illiterate, with small political power. They are cursed by slavery—which they yet defend—for it makes labour a disgrace, and, if poor, puts them on the same level with the slave himself. Slavery hinders their development in respect to property and intellectual culture and manly character; yet, as a whole, they are so ignorant that they do not understand the cause which keeps them down. The morals of this class are exceedingly low; they abound in murders, and are full of cruelty towards their victims; nay, where else in Christendom, save Spanish America, is the Caucasian found to take delight in burning his brother with a slow fire, for his own sport, and to please a licentious mob?

The third class consists of the slaves themselves, of whom I need say only this—that public opinion and the law—which is only the thunder from that cloud—keep them at labour and from government, from Christianity and democracy, from all the development of the age, and seek to crush out the instinct of progress from the very nature of the victims. The slave has no personal rights—ecclesiastical, political, social, economical, individual—no right to property, a human accident—none to his body or soul, the substance of humanity itself.

But I fear you do not yet quite understand the difference between the regressive force of slavery at the South and the progressive force of freedom at the North. Therefore, to see in noonday light the effect of each on the present welfare and the future progress of a people, compare an old typical slave State with an old typical free State; and then compare a new slave State with a new free State.

1. South Carolina contains 29,385 square miles of land, Connecticut 4,674. In 1850, South Carolina had 661,507 inhabitants, whereof 283,523 were free, and 384,984 slaves, while Connecticut had 370,792 inhabitants, all free.

The government value of all the land in South Carolina was $5 08 an acre; in Connecticut it was $30 50 the acre. All the farms in South Carolina contained 16,217,700 acres, and were worth $82,431,684; while the farms of Connecticut were worth $72,726,422, though they contained only 2,383,879 acres. Thus slavery and freedom affect the *value of land* in the old States.

In 1850, South Carolina had 340 miles of railroad, and Connecticut 547, on a territory not equal to one-sixth of South Carolina. In 1855, South Carolina had $11,500,000 in railroads, Connecticut had then $20,000,000.

The shipping of South Carolina amounts to 36,000 tons; in Connecticut to 125,000, though she is not advantageously situated for navigation.

The value of the real and personal property in South Carolina, in 1850, was estimated by the Federal Government at $288,257,094. This includes the value of all the slaves, who, at $400 a piece, amounts to $153,993,600. Subtracting this sum, which is neither property in *land nor things*, but wholly *unreal* and fictitious, there remains $124,264,094 as the entire property of the great slave State. While the total valuation of the land and things in Connecticut, in 1850, was $155,707,980. In other words, in South Carolina, 670,000 persons, with 30,000 square miles of land, are worth $124,000,000; while in Connecticut, 370,000 men, with only 4,600 square miles of land, are worth $156,000,000. Thus do slavery and freedom affect the *general wealth* of the people in the old States.

In 1850, South Carolina had 365,026 persons under 20 years of age; her whole number of pupils at schools, academies and colleges was 40,373. Connecticut had only 157,146 persons of that age, but 83,697 at school and college. Will you say it is of no consequence whether the *coloured child* is educated or not? Then remember that South Carolina had 149,322 white children, and only sent 40,373 of them to school at all in that year; while out of 1,153,862 white children, Connecticut gave 83,697 a permanent place in her noble schools.

In South Carolina there are but 129,350 free persons over 20 years of age, and of these, 16,564 are unable to read the word Heaven. So, in all that great and Democratic State, there are only 112,186 persons over 20 who know their A B C, while in Connecticut there are 213,662 persons over 20, and of all that number only 5,306 are illiterate, and of them, 4,013 were foreigners. But of all the 16,564 *ignoramuses* of South Carolina, only 104 were born out of that State!

Out of 365,026 over twenty, South Carolina has only 112,786 who can read their primer; while out of 213,662, Connecticut has 208,356 who can read and write. South Carolina can boast more than 250,000 native adults who cannot write or read the name of their God—a noble army of martyrs, a cloud of witnesses to its peculiar institutions; while poor Connecticut has only 1,293 native adults unable to read their Holy Bible.

Such is the effect of slavery and freedom on education in the old States. The Southern politician was right—"Free society is a failure."

1. Now compare two new States, of about the same age. Arkansas was admitted into the Union in 1836, Michigan in 1837.

Arkansas contain 52,198 square miles, and 209,807 inhabitants, of whom 151,746 are free, and 58,161 are slaves. Michigan was entered for settlement later than her sister, but contains 397,654 persons, all free.

In Arkansas the land is valued at $5 88 the acre, and in Michigan at $11 83; the slave State has 781,531 acres of improved land, and Michigan 1,929,110; the farms of Arkansas are worth $15,265,248, and those of Michigan $51,872,446. Thus slavery and freedom effect the value of land in the new States.

Michigan had (in 1855) 699 miles of railroad, which had cost $19,000,000; Arkansas had paid nothing for railroads. The total valuation of Arkansas, in 1850, was $39,871,025, the value of the slaves, $23,264,400, was included. Deducting that, there remains but $16,576,625 as the entire worth of Arkansas; while Michigan has property to the amount of $59,787,255. Thus slavery and freedom effect the *value of property* in the new States.

In 1850, Arkansas had 115,023 children under twenty, whereof 11,050 were in schools, academies, or colleges; while Michigan had 211,969, of whom 112,382 were at school, academy, or college. Or, to omit the coloured population, Arkansas had 97,402 white persons under 20, and only 11,050 attending school; while of 210,831 whites of that age in Michigan

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1856.

THE TWENTY-THIRD NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR

Will be held, as usual, in BOSTON, during Christmas and New Year's Week. *Time and place of opening to be decided hereafter.*

The Anti-Slavery cause has at length, after a quarter of a century of labours, taken possession, in one form or another, of almost every mind in our American community. To men of great sympathies, it has shown the sufferings of the slave; to men of a profound sense of right, it has shown his wrongs; to men whose hope is in another life, it has shown him deprived of Bibles, and Sabbaths, and sanctuary privileges; to men whose hope is in this life, it has shown him deprived of education and the means of self-improvement and success. To patriots, it has shown their country's shame and danger. To politicians, it has shown one most selfish and accursed interest devouring every true one. To Christians, it has shown their Redeemer crucified afresh in the persons of these the least of his brethren. To philanthropists, it has shown human nature degraded and ruined in the person of both master and slave, by the outrages of the one against the liberty of the other.

The function of the undersigned, whose privilege, during all these years, it has been to give themselves to the work, has been to arouse their countrymen to the necessity of taking an onward and upward step with the advancing century. We print books, sustain newspapers, and send out agents, to disseminate truth, and to follow it up with argument, appeal, entreaty, with statements of facts on every department of the subject—theological, financial, political, social—in order to bring about the abolition of slavery.

The coming occasion, of the TWENTY-THIRD BAZAAR, is for the purpose of raising funds to that effect; and we confidently call on every compassionate, just, patriotic, Christian and philanthropic heart in the land for aid. NAY, WE CALL ON EVERY HEART, WITHOUT EXCEPTION; for the power and beauty of this Cause is shown in its faculty of changing the public heart into its own excellent likeness. But especially, let all who pity fugitives help *us;* for our funds go directly to awaken that public sympathy which gives the slave a refuge on every threshold. Especially, let all who wish to see Abolitionists in Congress, help *us;* for our funds go directly to arouse the sensibilities of every patriot, politician, statesman, legislator, elector. By our precept and example of NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS, we lead the van of a national movement towards the abolition of slavery, which every profound thinker clearly sees would stop without such leading; and we especially beseech all to help *us*, as it is the only means whereby worthier and swifter than we can take the lead, which only the necessity of the case has bound upon us.

We solicit correspondence, counsel and assistance from all friends of the slave, whether at home or in Europe, and we pledge ourselves to employ most conscientiously whatever of influence or money may be committed to our hands, and to make faithful account of the same at the close of our undertaking.

Communications may be addressed to the Committee at 21 Cornhill, Boston, Mass., or to 138 Nassau street, New York.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,	MARY MAY,
LOUISA LORING,	ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,	ANN GREENE PHILLIPS,
SARAH SHAW RUSSELL,	FRANCES MARY ROBBINS,
HELEN E. GARRISON,	ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL,
SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,	MARY WILLEY,
ABBY FRANCIS,	ANN SHAW GREENE,
AMY M. REMOND,	MARY GRAY CHAPMAN,
ELIZABETH GAY,	HENRIETTA SARGENT,
SARAH R. MAY,	CAROLINE WESTON,
SUSAN C. CABOT,	MARY H. JACKSON,
SARAH BLAKE SHAW,	LYDIA D. PARKER,
ELIZA F. EDDY,	EVELINA A. S. SMITH,
ELIZABETH VON ARNIM,	AUGUSTA KING.

It is not necessary to remind the readers of THE STANDARD that that great defaulter the American Tract Society has been brought up at last to the bar of public opinion for trial for breach of trust and malversation in office. It was indicted, years ago, by the Abolitionists, but, as in other similar cases, their charges were at first scouted at, then listened to, and finally accepted and preferred, on their own behalf, by those to whom it was requisite to make some more sufficient response than the cry of "infidel," and "disorganizers." Churches, clergymen and religious newspapers have spoken with authority to the awakening conscience of the orthodox community, and the tranquillity of the Tract House has been invaded. The reverend gentlemen who have presided with so much dignity in that comfortable domain, and doled out therefrom to the starving heathen such bread as seemed convenient for them, have found their hitherto easy seats full, of late, of thorns and all manner of uncomfortableness. As uneasy lies the head that wears a crown, so uneasy sit the saints who issue tracts. Hitherto, when impudent and obscure people have said "where is thy brother?" if the committee have condescended to any reply, it was only to assure the world that the Tract House was a very valuable property. If it was asked—where is your testimony against the enormities of slavery? the answer was—so many millions of pages have we issued, and our press-rooms and bindery are in admirable order. If again it was urged—how dare you suppress, in your publications, all allusions to this giant system of outrage and fraud? they have answered, in a most comforting and edifying spirit—a good Providence has abundantly blessed our labours, and we have spread abroad the saving influence of our blessed Lord. But an end was to come to the administering of this nauseous mixture of impudence, hypocrisy and cant. The fine lawn has been forced to walk forth among the common and sometimes rough cloth of the people, and has become both soiled and rumpled by the contact.

If the people were left to themselves, we are disposed to think that they would do something more than rumple this immaculate linen. The probability is that they would tear it from the men it serves both to hide and cover, as they would the sheep's clothing from any other wolves. But unfortunately they are under guardianship—the guardianship too of self-appointed leaders. We hope—at least we may go so far—that if this question, in regard to the disposition of the Tract Society of the subject of slavery, could be submitted directly to that portion of the orthodox laity who take any interest in it whatever, that the present administration of that Society would be ignominiously ejected from office, or compelled to shape its course in accordance with that fresh and wholesome sentiment which looks with contempt upon the base and cowardly conduct by which that administration has hitherto been governed. But no such vote can be taken. In this, as in all similar cases, the people are lead by, and submit to, their leaders. "I dare here, *among my superiors*, to offer a word," said, at the recent anniversary of the Society, a layman, well known as an intelligent and influential merchant, whose judgment, except on some question of mere abstract theology, would probably outweigh before a jury that of any dozen of those whom he thus deferentially bowed before as his superiors. And there is no one thing which the progress of the anti-slavery cause has proved more conclusively than this: that in any case, as in that of the American Board, or of the Tract Society, or of the Church as a whole, when the spring tide of anti-slavery feeling has swollen and pressed forward, and has shown itself ready to rise rapidly over all barriers, burying out of sight the level and dead sands which have marked its limits, that then these tide-waiters and clerical inspectors have stood by with pick and shovel to sink subterranean passages, and dig new channels, and open concealed sluices, in which to receive the freshening waters, to turn them away from their onward flow, and send them back again to the dead and stagnant sea.

So long as the outcry against the Tract Society was confined to the Abolitionists, it passed unheeded. These gentlemen who have put themselves at the head of the movement now, who knew just as well then as they know now that that Society was wanting in a great Christian duty, that the course it pursued would be mean and contemptible in any peddling publishing house who would print anything with Beelzebub's name on the title-page, and copyright secured in his dominions, provided it would sell. But they had nothing to say so long as the peace of the Church was undisturbed. By and by a church at Hartford, a church in good and regular standing, has its eyelids lifted by the labours of a good and zealous pastor; and when its eyes are opened, it also opens its mouth. Such a voice passed not unheeded, and now there is a movement to be headed and guided. *The Independent* newspaper, with a large circulation, and a wide influence among the more liberal portion of evangelical people, seizes the banner and marshals the host. It attacks the Tract House, barricaded with its millions of pages, its printing-houses, its binding-rooms, and its fine property generally, and carries it by assault. The enemy capitulates and signs articles of surrender. And what the besiegers contended for, and besieged mean to give, we learn from the report of the late annual meeting.

This meeting was held in the Brick Church, and the report of the debate touching the slavery question covers nearly two pages in last week's number of *The Independent*. It is impossible for us, in the present crowded condition of our own columns, to copy, or even give a sketch of it. The result, however, is summed up in a single resolution, which is, in fact, the instrument of capitulation assented to by the Executive Committee of the Society. They no longer stand upon their dignity, and throw themselves back upon their reserved rights, as "superiors" whose motives and conduct are not to be questioned. The resolution is as follows:

"Regarding the action and proceedings of the Executive Committee as frankly and ingeniously inviting the fullest investigation into all the affairs intrusted to their charge; therefore,

"Resolved, That at the suggestion of the Executive Committee themselves, a special committee of fifteen be appointed to inquire into and review the proceedings of the Executive Committee, and report to the next annual meeting, or to a duly convened special meeting to be called by said committee at their discretion."

And in acccordance with this resolution at a subsequent meeting the following Committee was appointed:

Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Brunswick, N. J.; Rev. Thomas De Witt, D.D., New York; Hon. Wm. Jessup, Montrose, Pa.; Rev. Albert Barnes, Philadelphia; Rev. Francis Wayland, D.D., Providence, R. I.; Rev. M. B. Anderson, LL.D., President of the University, Rochester, N. Y.; Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, D.D., New York; Rev. John S. Stone, D.D., Brookline, Mass.; Rev. John N. McLeod, D.D., and James Donaldson, Esq., of New York; George H. Stuart, Esq., of Philadelphia; Rev. Joel Hawes, D.D., Hartford, Conn.; Rev. Mark Hopkins, D.D., Williamstown, Mass.; Rev. Ray Palmer, D.D., Albany; and Rev. S. S. Schmucker, D.D., Gettysburg, Pa., comprising members from eight ecclesiastical connections.

There are good names on this list, and also bad names—men who, we may hope, may be trusted in their dealings with any ecclesiastical body on the subject of slavery, and men who certainly may not be trusted. But it is not worth while to prejudge them. Their labours will be gratefully accepted and fully acknowledged if they shall fully set forth the sins of omission and commission of the Tract House, and shall bring the gentlemen therein to a proper sense of repentance and of Christian duty. And, if they shall not, we doubt if there will be much of that sickness of the heart which cometh of hope deferred.

This Committee, we take it, will have two questions to ask of the Executive Committee of the Tract Society, and two only: Have you treated slavery, in your publications, as you have other acknowledged immoralities? Have you been careful *not* to so treat it? Does anybody doubt what the answer must be? Does not the whole world know—at least the Tract Society's world—that it has not dealt with slavery as it has with dancing, with novel-reading, with intemperance, with the use of tobacco, all which are immoralities in those eyes that have seen no harm in adultery, fornication, the parting of husbands and wives, the selling of children, the prohibition of teaching the alphabet, and the punishment of attending religious meetings? And is it not an acknowledged fact that not only has slavery not been so dealt with, but every condemnatory allusion to it has been carefully expurgated from the republications of the Society?

There is but one answer to all this. The Society knew it as well the week before last, when convened in the Brick Church, as they will know it when informed of it next year by an elaborate report from the Committee of Examination. Why then delay a year for action? The evangelical mind is, at this moment, as much aroused by warm discussion of the subject in various newspapers, for months past, as it can possibly be a year hence—probably even more so, for that discussion now passes out of the hands of public disputants. In a hundred ways the charges against the Committee have been made and proved beyond a question. The trial had been heard, the jury was impannelled; why should not a verdict be found at once, and sentence pronounced where guilt was so clear?

Those who have watched the course of the American Board of Foreign Missions for the last ten years will have no difficulty in answering this question. It is ten years since a similar proceeding was taken in that body. For ten years the question of slavery has been committed, and special-missioned, and resolved upon, and debated, and the Board has come out of the intricate web of its own weaving, and where it was difficult to follow it, through dust and darkness, at precisely the same place it went in. If the Tract Society does not do the same thing, it will be because the course of the Committee is not so easy of befogment, and because the public will not, in this case, be so patient of clerical leading. Messrs. Bacon and Thompson, both editors of *The Independent*, and both conspicuous in the recent newspaper discussion with the Committee of the Tract Society, took the lead in the Brick Church meeting. They both repeatedly declared their confidence in the officers of the Society—inclusive, of course, of the Rev. Nehemiah Adams, one of the Publishing Committee, and who may veto the issue of any tract before it—and disavowed any wish or intention to make any change in the management of the Society. And they both expressed themselves gratified and satisfied with an allusion in the report to slavery as a system of "acknowledged evils," and as involving duties, and regarded it as an implied promise of future action. The Committee saw plainly enough that they had to meet the indictment in some way; and what way so ready as a reference to a Committee? And who so fit to help them out of the dilemma as Messrs. Bacon and Thompson? So for one year, at least, they are to be left in peace, and thereafter as good luck may have it.

It is a source of no small gratification to the Abolitionists that, in reviewing their twenty-five years of active warfare upon slavery, they find ample corroboration of the correctness of their principles and the efficiency of their measures. Their leader undertook, at the commencement of this period, to force a reluctant nation to attend to the claims made upon it by religion, justice, humanity and enlightened self-interest in the matter of slavery. Indifference was the first obstacle to be encountered, attention the first point to be gained.

It is no easy thing for one man to move a nation. It is a very difficult thing for one man to *drive* a nation in the path which he directs, but which they refuse. Mr. Garrison was laughed to scorn by the people who were called wise and prudent when he said, in the first number of *The Liberator*, "I WILL be heard." But he has succeeded in this first indispensable step. Through the train of movements which he originated, the subject of slavery is now forced upon the attention of the nation, from its centre to its circumference. Sometimes ridiculing him as fanatical and visionary, and sometimes cursing him as too strong to be resisted, the nation has been driven, against its will, in the direction which he has indicated, up to the point of recognising the need of present attention to the character, influence and prospects of slavery. This first point is gained.

The movement next in order would seem to be to direct the attention thus aroused into effective channels, leading as directly as possible towards the right end. But an obstacle intervenes.

As the Abolitionists are pursuing their end, the destruction of slavery, by what seem to them the appropriate means, namely, delineation of the contrariety of slavery to Christianity, they find that the recognised teachers of religion, who have the ear and the confidence of the people, are making a contrary representation, and denying that slaveholding is a sin to be immediately repented of and forsaken.

Addressing themselves next, therefore, to the indispensable preliminary work of showing the people how, and how far, the great body of the clergy have misled them, and carefully excepting from this censure the small proportion of clergymen in some of the sects who make any direct testimony against slavery, they find yet another retarding force in the position of the men last referred to.

These, though characterizing the general system of slavery in appropriate terms, and thus aiding, to a certain extent, in the needed diffusion of light, go far to neutralize this service by the following strange inconsistencies. They direct the efforts of their followers against merely the *extension* of slavery, implying, and in some cases directly expressing, their readines to acquiesce in the indefinite continuance of slavery where it is already established, and to discountenance all agitation respecting *that*, if the slaveholders will abstain from pushing it beyond those limits; still worse! within the boundaries and in the functions of their ecclesiastical system, which requires them to draw sharply and express clearly the distinction between the saint (i. e. the penitent and reformed sinner) and the impenitent persister in sin, they accept as Christians, brethren of the church in good and regular standing, and even as ministers *of the Gospel*, men who hold slaves, and justify slaveholding, and avow their determination to persist in it.

This state of things imposes upon the Abolitionists (the anti-*slavery*, and not merely anti-extension-of-slavery people) the further preliminary necessity of pointing out to those who are deluded by these concessions and thus misled in regard to the point where thorough and effective work is to be done, how and why the course referred to is erroneous in principle and suicidal in policy. And just this seems now to be our next duty—the duty lying nearest to us, and taking precedence, in order of time, of other branches of the same great work.

But in doing this very next duty we are met by the remonstrances of weak breathren, who say—Are there not enemies enough to oppose? why should our strength be wasted by disputes among friends?

These inquiries are entitled to an answer, and the answer is this. Whatever credit may properly be claimed by friendly feelings and good intentions, those persons cannot be efficient coadjutors of a host or a party whose course thwarts its main plans, reverses its appointed movements, and denies its fundamental principles. "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?" But yet worse is it when one trumpet sounds the retreat while another on the same side is sounding the charge. No progress can be made without concert, or at least unity of action. And, therefore, while the community currently talk of the different classes of Abolitionists, and persons who feel a newly awakened interest in the subject are considering which they will join, it needs to be plainly said that there is *but one* class of Abolitionists—those who always maintain an unsparing and uncompromising war with slavery everywhere, and with its allies. To be a Free Soiler or an anti-extension-of-slavery man are good positions compared with positions that are worse—as of the Whig, the Democrat or the slaveholder; but they are *not* good positions compared with that of the Abolitionist; and whoever confounds these two, or does not appreciate the radical difference between them, needs instruction in the first elements of Anti-Slavery.

Slaveholders Christians? Is Henry Ward Beecher then trying to prevent the emigration of Christians to Kansas? Does he acknowledge Drs. Blagden, Adams and Winslow to be preachers of the Gospel, and is he unwilling that they should preach the Gospel in Kansas, and make converts there, and build up churches that shall hold just the position those men are holding now? Does he consider the author of the "South-Side View of Slavery" to hold a position at variance with truth, and justice, and reason, and humanity, but *not* with the Christian religion? It behooves him to take care lest, as the natural consequence of his teaching upon this subject, the name at least of Christianity itself should lose its savour, and be trodden under foot of men.

As long as clergymen obviously prefer the unity and peace of a corrupt church to the cost and trouble of purification, so long they fairly expose themselves to be ranked as hireling shepherds, blind guides, false prophets; and as long as they shelter the particular vice called *slavery* under their ecclesiastical robe, so long will it be the right and the duty of the Abolitionists to expose them to the public view in the above-named characters. From *this* result of a time-serving course on their part there is no escape, and they may as well reconcile themselves to it.

Suppose the present probabilities fulfilled, and Kansas admitted to the Union as a slave State. Suppose that some of the Eastern emigrants, who have gone out there accoutred with Sharp's rifles and Bibles, in the hope of a different result, should conclude to remain, and should invite Henry Ward Beecher to take the post of honour and danger, and be their pastor. Suppose that a revival follows his ministrations, and that some slaveholders, who accidentally looked in to scoff, should remain to pray, and should be hopefully converted. Suppose them to give a satisfactory account of the process by which they passed from death into life, and to profess their belief in the Trinity, the Atonement, the Devil and Hell, and whatever else belongs to the creed of Mr. Beecher's church, will he receive them as regenerate persons, with no word spoken about their slaveholding, or will he require *that* to be abandoned as an indispensable pre-requisite to admission? And if the latter, why does he concede the practisers and defenders of slavery *now* to be Christians?

KANSAS.

The important events now transpiring in Kansas, and intelligence of which has reached us within the past week, are of too much interest not to have become already known to our readers. Had we not already seen how near the people there may come to blows without fighting, a contest, under present circumstances, between the Free States men and the Border Ruffians would seem inevitable. That the latter are ready enough and anxious for it seems very evident; but the Free States men, whether it is that they are more prudent, or less reckless, do not evince the same willing disposition for such an event. Nor are they to be blamed yet for that. Something more than a good cause is needed in a revolution where the instruments to be relied upon are balls and cartridge-boxes, rather than ballot-boxes and argument. The Free States men, no doubt, consider, as they should, that a fight between themselves and the *de facto* Territorial authorities, under the Shawnee Mission Legislature, would be civil war and treason, and that these authorities have at their back the power of the Federal Government. This is fearful odds to contend against, and it is no wonder that men hesitate ere they enter upon such a contest. There would, perhaps, be no hesitation if they were as sure that the North was as ready to stand by them, as they are that President Pierce and the South may be implicitly relied upon by the Border Ruffians. But they have no certainty of this; on the contrary, the probability is altogether the other way. Northern firmness goes only to the point of compromise; and if that is not gained, we are afraid she will fall back, perhaps with a bad grace, but still fall back to submission. So it has been in the past, and there has been no spirit yet exhibited to show that it is to be otherwise in the present exigency. It is in reality a question of disunion, for that will be the inevitable result of a civil war. Does anybody believe that the North is ready for that? The warmest and most zealous of the friends of Free Kansas do not believe it. They are not even themselves ready for such an alternative. The most they have dared hope for is that, by a proper show of spirit and Sharpe's rifles, the Border Ruffians will be induced to believe that they are to encounter men who cannot be subdued, and may, therefore, decline to enter upon a hopeless contest. As if a show of courage were to answer the purpose of real courage; as if men ever put off a fight with a desperate enemy by the pretence of a spirit, and a profession of belief, as to the result which they did not feel.

We are not to be understood as wanting in sympathy or respect for the settlers in Kansas who are contending with such fearful odds. They are called upon for the exercise of a personal courage and firmness, and are made to submit to a suffering, which have never been demanded of any other class of people in this country, not even excepting the earlier Abolitionists. But we have never dared to hope for their success except in that emergency, which they evidently are disposed to avoid—a civil war. If that should ensue, on some side issue, and the Northern blood should rise to fighting heat, Kansas may be made a free State, but at the expense of a dissolution of the Union. But that it will be made a free State on the naked question of Slavery or Freedom we do not dare to hope. The love of Liberty, for its own sake, is not strong enough in the Northern people for that. They submitted to the abrogation of that solemn compact, again and again confirmed, by which that immense and fertile region was dedicated to a free people; and already the indignant determination that it must be restored is abandoned. The question no sooner came before Congress than it was *compromised*, by sending a Committee of Examination to Kansas—the immediate cause of the present difficulties—instead of sending for persons and papers to be brought before a committee at Washington. The Constitution adopted at Topeka gave to the slaveholders eighteen months to remove their slaves from the Territory, in case it should become a free State; and by the same act by which the Free State men adopted that Constitution, they instructed the first Legislature under it to exclude all free coloured persons from the State by law. The moral basis is wanting on which alone success could be predicated. A religious hatred of slavery, and an earnest determination to establish liberty and maintain justice for black men as well as white, whether the Union should stand or fall, can alone make Kansas, or any other Territory belonging to the Union, free, where it is the interest and purpose of the South that it shall not be. The South is in earnest, and means to carry its point, at all hazards; while the North aims only at half measures, and strives for them with a feeble purpose and in a compromising spirit.

SPEECH OF REV. O. B. FROTHINGHAM,

OF JERSEY CITY,

At the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, New York, May 8, 1856.

IT is a great privilege, in my estimation, to occupy a place upon this platform, with these old tried soldiers of a noble cause, who have fought the good fight so long, bearing the burden and heat of many a weary day. I cannot hope to contribute anything to the ideas or sentiments which they have so ably enforced. I have no new facts to communicate, no new arguments to urge, no new plans of action to submit, no new course of conduct to recommend; I only wish to express my profound sympathy with the principles that lie at the basis of this Anti-Slavery Movement, and with the movement itself as the modern embodiment of those principles. There is a grand monotony in all anti-slavery meetings. They show magnificently the capacities of a single idea. They are splendid illustrations of the power of playing every sort of music on a single string. People complain that this is an old story, that the thought is threadbare. Not so.

No thought is old till it has done its work. The great Gospel-word, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," is as new and original to-day as it was eighteen centuries ago, and equally new and original will it be until the Kingdom of God shall be established on earth. Though one were just to reiterate, with all the power of his soul, the fundamental truths—that God is Love—that man is made in the image of God—that every man is brother to every other man—that every man is his brother's keeper—applying these truths to the special evils of the age, as they came into prominence, he would be a prophet; and he would do a prophet's work in enlightening and arousing the conscience of his fellow-men. It has always seemed to me that the plan of the original Abolitionists was the true one—to leave speculations about ways and means—to run into no fatiguing digressions for the entertainment of this or that clique, but to gather up all their energies to shatter the barred gate of conscience and let the light of God's truth shine into the *souls* of men. There would be little question then of ways and means. Details would arrange themselves.

Never did this grand policy demand more fidelity than now. Never did the public conscience need more earnest and pointed appeals. The outworks have been carried The Abolitionists have compelled the public mind to grant the abstract wrong of slavery. But they have not yet forced the public will to war against slavery as a sin. Men are intellectually convinced, but not morally *moved*. Everybody calls himself an Abolitionist; few follow that calling; and until the calling is followed, nothing is achieved. In meditating upon the posture of our people towards the institution of slavery, I am more and more impressed with the fact that this posture is an equivocal one. Anti-slavery people are as numerous as our northern population; but where is the anti-slavery action? You will scarcely find a man, be he Whig, Republican, or Know-Nothing, who will not declare explicitly and with emphasis that his antipathy to slavery is as strong as yours. The lawyers say so; the merchants say so; the capitalists say so; venerable old men, and mossy young men, all say so alike. There is not a conservative, portly or wrinkled, who does not feel insulted if you call him a pro-slavery man. But whereto does all this profession tend? To nothing; aye, to *less* than nothing. It is positively unfriendly to the cause of Freedom. Leaving profession aside, taking character and the influence thereof by itself, are the majority of these people anti-slavery *men?* They are *pro*-slavery men. Their action is practically on the oppressor's side. The name of Abolitionist is assumed not as a pledge of hostility to the Slave Power, but as a sign of neutrality. It declares, not that men are in league with the friends of freedom, but that they wish to elude their notice and to avoid their assault; not that they are prepared to fight, but that they are anxious to escape from fighting. A young man takes charge of a parish as its minister. In public or in private he gives out that his views are opposed to slavery. Forthwith the respectable members of the society meet him blandly, take him by the hand, express their joy at his coming, and their entire concurrence with his sentiments, and add, significantly, in allusion to this special matter, "of course, you know we are all anti-slavery people here; we all sympathize with you entirely on that point." Now, why is this said? Is it spoken in praise of the sermon in question? No; it is spoken in condemnation of it. Is it meant to encourage the young preacher to declare his convictions to the public fully and freely, ensuring to them a favourable audience and the support of his congregation? No; it is meant as a hint that his convictions are not wanted, that he may as well keep them to himself, that they will fall upon unwilling ears. People are anti-slavery people, and for that reason read no anti-slavery books, pamphlets, papers, hear no anti-slavery speeches or sermons, vote no anti-slavery ticket, support no anti-slavery organizations. Does this sound like caricature? I verily believe it is not. I could name repeated instances wherein it has been simple truth, to my own experience. The spirit of compromise has taken possession of the public mind. And the task now is, not to bring men to acknowledge the wrongfulness of slavery, but, which is far more difficult, to make them faithful to an acknowledgment whose demands have never been felt, and which hangs loosely and idly in the chambers of the intellect. The state of compromise is, of all states, the most hopeless; for the compromiser does but poise arguments instead of wielding principles; he plays with a subject intellectually, instead of grappling it spiritually; he stands with both ears wide open on the *opposite* sides of his head, fancying that the more contradictions he hears, the wiser he is, but to the beating heart in his bosom he pays no heed at all. He is full of interest in the cause before him, but one does not wait long to see that his interest is all for himself and nothing for the cause.

It is a great saying that man must serve either God or mammon. He may profess to serve both, but he serves only *one*. He may profess to serve one, and yet really serve the other. A purely moral question—as the question of slavery preeminently is—has but two sides to it; the one is *right*, the other is *wrong*. Man has but one faculty by which he may learn which is the right and which is the wrong, and that faculty is his *conscience*. This incessantly struggles to confirm him in the right. The passions, which promise animal comfort and luxury, as incessantly struggle to confirm him in the wrong. To yield cordially to both is impossible. No sooner do we attempt to obey the laws of the conscience than the passions are roused to stormy opposition. No sooner do we yield a little to the solicitations of desire than conscience pronounces its vehement protest. Every creature that is neither a brute nor an angel is conscious of these divergent and conflicting forces within him. Every rational being knows that one can prevail only if the other is suppressed. Every honest man accepts the alternative, and chooses which he will serve.

I say there are but two ways of honestly meeting a grave moral question. The first is to be guided simply by the light of conscience, to keep the moral sense clear and quick, carefully to separate evil from good, to be exceedingly scrupulous that right shall be purged from every taint of wrong, that it may be pursued with a single eye and a steadfast will. The high-minded and sincere man examines and suspects himself, guarding against the casuistry of the intellect and the subtler wiles of the flesh. He sees evil as it is, through all its veils and enchantments, and he spurns it. He fears lest a noble prudence may be timidity, lest selfishness lurk in his holiest wisdom, and something like pride mar his most cautious reserve. In his anxiety to serve goodness and goodness only, he cross-questions every virtue, to make sure that no dishonourable motive taints it; and then, if his hand or his foot cause him to offend, he is ready to cut them off and cast them from him. Thus he keeps no terms with the enemy, and finally compels him to submit. Not without pain is this manly course chosen and pursued. For passion is strong and desire entices; many are the charms of animal content; sweet are the blandishments of the world; and the siren voices of friends, the wealthy, the elegant, the refined, the affectionate and near of kin—ah, how seductive they are. The hiss of the old serpent is dreadful when it comes through the teeth of the powerful in intellect and place. The loss of social repute, the loss of ease, of riches too—it ought not to be hard to bear all this, but it is. For all, the way is so clear, and Truth overhead, the dread hereafter opening under our feet, it is not easy to serve the good God. But what power comes through that service! What illuminations come too! What ecstasies of triumphant joy! How the film burns off from the eye! How the brood of lusts flee before the majestic uprising of conscience! What heavenly powers descend to aid the weary will! The man, having conquered himself, receives a power from God to conquer others also.

> "The path of duty is the way of glory:
> He that walks it, only thirsting
> For the right, and learns to deaden
> Love of self, before his journey closes
> He shall find the stubborn thistle bursting
> Into glossy purples, which outredden
> All voluptuous garden-roses.
> The path of duty is the way to glory:
> He that, ever following her commands
> On with toil of heart and knees and hands
> Thro' the long gorge to the far light, has won
> His path upward and prevailed,
> Shall find the toppling crags of duty, scaled,
> Are close upon the shining table-lands
> To which our God himself is moon and sun."

The Anti-Slavery Cause has nobly illustrated these glorious lines of the poet Tennyson. And the illustrations are not far from our own homes. There stands the prophet Garrison, still uttering his words, severe as Truth, while idolatries are rising and falling around him and the whirlwind of feeling he has created tosses popular opinions and men like dry leaves into the air. The serene Phillips, accomplished knight of this crusade, with practised eye, thrusts his keen unerring rapier into every shape or sophistry, and, without an effort, lays in the dust the most majestic lie. The hearty Sumner, flinging off his cumbrous garments one by one, meets the challenge of the Philistines with the cheerful alacrity of David. Clear-eyed Gerrit Smith looks right through the tangled web of Congressional sophistry, and unravels the hardest questions by the logic of an ingenuous heart. Parker, champion of the new church militant, with undaunted look confronts all the demons face to face, and never misses his blow. The pure spirit of Thomas T. Stone shudders at the very approach of falsity. What power there is in such men! How high they stand! What lights they are! How their eyes look through us! How brightly our lamps burn in the presence of such! How little, in all they have resigned, do they seem to have lost! We do not pity them for their lack of social privileges, their lack of professional honour, their stern labours and trials. We feel that to pity would be to insult them. How wretched the prizes of life compared with the prizes of immortality! How mean the society of the gay and elegant when compared with the fellowship of heroes, the communion of saints! How contemptible the privilege of bestowing nods and smiles upon a crowd of courtly admirers as contrasted with the glory of inflaming dull consciences and inspiring faint hearts! How worthless the approval of genteel dignity, when the high-minded admire and the good are grateful!

Yes, the path of duty is the way to glory. But there is another path which conducts also to its rest—the path of Desire. This the mammon-worshipper pursues. He, instead of obeying conscience, boldly seeks to abolish it. He confounds right with wrong, calls evil good, and good evil. Conscience is a name, one thing to-day, another thing to-morrow, one thing here, another thing there, a creature of chances, a prejudice, a whim. The heart's affections are personal, therefore selfish. He has no faith in general principles, abstract ideas, radical truths; they are nothing but sentiments, fine sentiments fit for dreamers and school girls. He is a practical common sense man; he is for things that work well, plans that succeed, enterprises that pay. With him every profitable vice is a virtue. All successful knavery is rectitude. Policy is the measure of principle. Cover up evil and it is not there. Moral insensibility is a most excellent quality; it saves from so much foolish enthusiasm and fanaticism. Moral cowardice is an admirable trait; it secures one against so many Quixotic ventures. Do you talk of self-ishness? Why, it is the very law of life, without which society would be dissolved. You charge him with austerity. What is austerity but grave and faithful justice? You accuse him of inhumanity. What seems like inhumanity to a class, is humanity to mankind. Craft! cunning! who finds fault with these? Must not a man be astute and skilful? Is one always to postpone his interests to such romantic fancies as honour and truth? Self-preservation is the first duty; self-indulgence is the grand primeval right based on that; and he is a bold pretender and knave who would sacrifice these to the empty notion of conscience. This man soon rids himself of his angels. Having said, "Evil, be thou my good," the spirit of goodness departs from him, and the devils quietly enter in and take possession. The anti-slavery cause has turned up examples of this kind too. I will not name them. You can do that for yourselves. The demonic men are more conspicuous than the saintly. You know who they are that defend slavery as a Divine institution—patronize the Bible as supporting it—patronize the apostle Paul for returning Onesimus to his master—talk of God's providence in the hideous crime, as if the Almighty was the chief overseer and master driver on their plantations—speak of the beneficial effects of the system upon all concerned, and especially upon the blacks, by bringing them within the reach of an oppressive "Christianity." You know who they are who rave and bluster about Abolitionists, and write truculent letters to Northern ministers and lecture committees. Some of these people are genial, dashing, rioting, reckless men, good-humoured, fiery, with great relish of animal life and no appreciation of spiritual. Now and then you see a more deadly specimen of the class—a man whose heart is as insensible as the nether millstone to the slave's pitiful story, and the freeman's indignant remonstrance, and the Christ's weeping appeal—who denounces open speech, and bandies about the names "infidel" and "traitor," and is a loud advocate for orthodox believing, because orthodox believing is such a capital cloak for heterodox behaving. You know who they are. I need not name them. But these persons, like the heroes, are few. It costs a struggle to occupy this position. As one cannot without conflict and sorrow reach the heights of fame, neither can one without conflict and sorrow reach the depths of infamy. The soul does not walk meekly to the altar of sacrifice. It makes resistance; it protests; it beseeches; it is hard to turn away from its complaint. Before one becomes utterly shameless, conscience will make him writhe; departing self-respect will rend his soul in twain; his generous sentiments will give him a pang as they flee away; there is a raging of volcanic fires, and then there is a mountain of stone, where living streams of charity and sweet flowers of truth had been. If the majority of men are not prepared to make themselves saints, as little are they prepared to make themselves devils.

There is, therefore, a third class, the compromisers, or, as I prefer calling them, the *Palterers*. These people wish to be on both sides—to get God's blessing and the Devil's plums, to be nominally on good terms with conscience, while practically they indulge desire. They will pay that respect to the soul as not in terms to disown it, but at the same time the senses have delights which they would by no means dispense with. The palterer fills up with casuistry the great gulf betwixt God and the Devil, and resolves the whole process of duty into a matter of common sense. He does not deny that evil in the abstract is evil; God forbid! He confesses that, and asserts it vigorously; he is only persuaded that evil in *himself* is not evil. His wrong-doing is either no wrong-doing at all or it is done under a compulsion which leaves his conscience undisturbed. He has a horror of moral insensibility, but what appears so much like it in him is only a cool, compressed reserve, that will not waste its power in fluttering enthusiasm, but sternly bides its time for practical action. He despises moral cowardice, but he is brave enough: he only believes *honestly* that discretion in his case is the better part of valour. He abominates the principle that public justice and humanity are to be sacrificed to personal interests. He loves public justice and humanity, and means to be loyal to them; but he is persuaded that these great ends cannot be permanently advanced inconsistently with a wise, solid, unselfish conservation of private interests. Of course, a man must obey the law of God. The law of God, by all means, before any other law! He obeys it, never knowingly disobeys it—is extremely penitent when he does so. But he is not so rash as to imagine that he himself is to be a private interpreter of that law, that his conscience is to expound it, that his heart is to authenticate it. Far from him be the presumption of judging God by himself. There is the good old Bible; there is the good, sound old minister; God-fearing men made the laws of the State; and the common sense of the people, "vox populi," is not that, too, the voice of God? This pious talk is only a palterer's make-believe. He is trying to persuade himself that he is serving God by acknowledging that he ought to be served. He is trying to reconcile the fullest gratification of his desires with a sincere profession of piety. He is trying to convince himself and others that he is really serving God and only apparently serving mammon; when the truth is that he is really serving mammon and only apparently serving God.

Here, then, are the three classes: those who serve God, those who serve the Devil, and those who think they are serving both.

Which of these characters is most harmful to the community? I answer, the latter. For be executes, as palpably as any, the devil's work, and his influence is the more deadly because it is concealed. Satan loses half his power when he shows his tail. In the garb of a fine gentleman he finds conquest easy. Is it not possible that the Presidency of Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, might be a heavier blow to the Slave Power than the Presidency of Millard Fillmore? Is it not notorious that the most fatal enemy to Freedom has been the Northern man with Southern principles? Not the free-spoken, open-hearted Southerner who is so confident of his cause that he exposes its weakness; not the hot-headed representative of the chivalry who gives you rant for reasoning, and puts men into straight opposition to him in laughter or rage; not the bold champion, like Calhoun, who takes up the defence of slavery in serious earnest, and challenges all the world to battle. These men indirectly injure their cause by provoking antagonism. But your compromiser, your palterer, your bland, sleek, wary man, who comes from a free State, and professes free principles, while he is entirely at the disposal of the most powerful party—the man who counts Northern votes by his speeches, and Southern votes by his policy—he is the foe of liberty, the more dangerous for his false face and his subtlety. One of the most effective of the lectures in the Anti-Slavery Course in Boston, two years ago, was given by the Hon. Senator from Texas, Gen. Houston, whose avowed pro-slavery views disgusted even the most ancient of the conservatives; the weakness of whose arguments made his *friends* ashamed. An open champion of slavery puts us on our guard, awakens our belligerent feelings, and provokes attack. But a palterer disarms opposition. It is hard to assail a man who swears that he sympathizes with you, and has at heart the same ends, though you are secretly persuaded that his influence all goes to defeat those ends. You cannot reason with a man who assents to all your arguments. You cannot denounce a man as an enemy of freedom who turns round and protests that he is as true a friend of liberty as you are. So you must sit still, and see innocent people deceived and confiding parties betrayed.

I have already said the spirit of compromise rules our people, and it is from the influence of that spir

These pestilent infidels, these fanatical Abolitionists, they do more harm than good: he cannot identify himself with them, he cannot labour with them, as he must if he labours at all. As for the Free Soil men, they are on the look-out for the public spoils, and are no better than anybody else. So he, flattering himself that he is kept inactive by his very truth and sanctity, casts upon the faithful servants of the cause the blame of his own recreancy, and goes on his way comfortable and rejoicing. A third is perfectly convinced that the evil of slavery is more widely and deeply felt than men commonly imagine; he has reason to believe that everybody is anxious and impatient to remove it; the very slaveholders themselves are groaning under it daily, and would make great sacrifices to throw it off. If the madmen at the North would only leave them free to act their own wisdom in the matter, abolition would be slowly, but surely and safely, accomplished. Meanwhile, all active opposition is unnecessary and even prejudicial; he would gladly do something, if it were called for, but it is not. As for any extension of the evil, the danger of that is out of the question. The laws of climate and soil are against it. So he makes over to an imaginary Southern conscience the work of his own Northern conscience, is happy to find the cause so far advanced as not to require his services, makes his politest bow to duty, and subsides into his ease. A fourth declares that slavery is a great wrong and sin; no doubt it should be done away. But why treat it as if it were the *only* evil in the world? Why allow it such an unreasonable share of attention? Here are evils, quite as great, nearer home; let us do our duty to these. Let us help the labourers, improve the condition of the perishing classes, emancipate the white slaves of machinery and capital. Certainly, by all means. This ought we to do, and not leave the other undone. The more we give, the more we have to give. The more justice and charity we exercise, the more we have to exercise. This, however, is not the palterer's inference. His professed regard for the poor at home is only an apology for his paying *no* regard to the poor abroad. Not that he cares at all for the poor at home; only, if he did care for *any*, he ought to care for these *first*. Thus, on the pretence of bestowing upon slavery only its proper share of attention, he pays it none whatever. Piously recognising a multitude of obligations, he releases himself from every special duty. Spitefully insinuating that others have not completed the whole round of obedience, he blandly excuses himself from beginning it. But is taunting our neighbours justifying ourselves? Is the confession that a hundred claims upon conscience are valid equivalent to the satisfaction of one? Is conscience appeased by the bare acknowledgment of a thousand debts, while no dollar leaves the purse? It is better to discharge the smallest one and repudiate the rest than to make their number an excuse for repudiating all. A fifth says, Certainly, slavery is a grievous wrong, and I would cheerfully do all in my power to remove it. But I am only a private person, my influence is small, my circumstances are peculiar, and I am not in condition to do all I would. As if he had not a conscience to be faithful to as well as the public man whose circumstances were not so peculiar! Why does he not confess that *cannot* means *will* not? that the plea of humility is the plea of *fear*? Because he is not quite ready to discard conscience, though he never means to obey it.

The merchant considers slavery an institution of barbarism, which is doomed to perish with the advance of civilization. The cause of civilization is the cause of Trade. Let us extend our commerce; let us develope our resources; let us demonstrate the advantages of free labour. So he retires to his counting-room, and devotes himself to the holy cause of civilization, not disdaining to take the pay of a faithful soldier, in the shape of a few thousands, quite incidentally dropped into his own pocket as the result of some cotton operation. He is an Abolitionsist, only he does not work in the same fashion with those who assume the name, because their action is *suicidal*, tending to disturb the relations of trade, whose cause is identical with that of liberty.

The lawyer is sure of one thing: that the entire safety of society depends upon the maintainance of Law. The laws may be imperfect; they may seem wrong; but they must be supported. The only chance of getting better is to obey such as exist. He is an Abolitionist; he abhors slavery. But with the slave States none can legally interfere; the extension of the system cannot be legally resisted; the Constitution guarantees the return of fugitives. He is very sorry, but it cannot be helped. So he draws a deep sigh, construes the law as rigidly as possible, to make sure that it is not evaded; talks of the essential principles of conservation, meaning hunkerism and Southern patronage, and stands ready to pocket the bribe of any kidnapper who needs his service as defender of the Constitution.

The "gentleman" is disgusted at the coarseness and indecency of anti-slavery men. They are so vituperative, so *personal*. They have so little regard for the proprieties of respectable life. With him, taste is an excellent substitute for conscience. With people who are too fine for charity, "turning up the nose at the vulgar" is a favourite fashion of proving themselves immaculate.

No one finds paltering easier than the clergyman. No one can urge for it a more high-sounding plea. He says that it is his work to regenerate men's souls, not to liberate their *bodies;* to save them from damnation, not to rescue them from poverty and wretchedness; to convert them to the Faith in Christ, not to change their earthly estate. He says that his duty, as a Christian minister, is to meet the moral and spiritual wants of his own parish, to give his people instruction in Christian sentiments and to show them what Christian principles are, leaving their application to individuals themselves. He is not a prophet of any one truth, or the champion of any one cause. He is not a temperance advocate, or an anti-slavery lecturer, but a Christian pastor and a Gospel preacher, whose usefulness depends very much upon the care he takes not to involve himself in party questions or sectional movements. He is to educate men's conscience, not to specify its modes of action; he is to nurture humane sentiments, and not dictate their manner of working good. On this ground the clergyman declines acting with Abolition Societies, and declines advocating their cause from his pulpit. If, in pursuance of this course, his church fills up with the rich and respectable, if his salary is raised and his creature comforts increase, that is all as it should be. Is it not written that godliness is gain? And if his conscience now and then troubles him with a misgiving that his course is not the most noble and high-minded—if it occurs to him that, after all, slavery is a monstrous evil, which has its roots and its defences in the false moralities of his own people, and that it is his duty, as a faithful parish preacher, to correct, or at least to rebuke, those moralities, it is not difficult to evade this intimation of his better nature, while seeming to pay to it the most religious heed. His conviction of duty is not so strong as it should be; in fact he has no conviction at all, but only a hearty and passionate feeling, perhaps. He will wait the bidding of Providence. Meanwhile, to assist the drawing of Providence, he does what he innocently can to appease the hunger of his conscience. May not this new impulse, which seems so brave and noble, be a suggestion of the Devil? (Never a suspicious look does he cast at the disposition which urges him to resist it.) He consults his friends, of course those who will advise his keeping silence. He talks the matter over with the most prudent and well-advised of his parishioners. He concludes that it is not yet time. The wise man, he says, waits his opportunity; he might add, "and means that opportunity shall wait for him"—but that he does not care to say. If all this will not do, if the duty will not be put out of sight, he contrives to meet it indirectly; he whispers his opinion about in safe places; he criticises the unfaithfulness of somebody else; he calls attention to bold statements in his sermons which had escaped notice on their delivery; he puts the word "bondman" or "oppressor" into a prayer; he urges his younger brothers in the ministry to take an independent and fearless stand. When, by spilling his conscience about in dribbles, he has contrived to empty it of its obligations, he is fully persuaded that his duty is done, and that he is a true man. Nay, finding himself undisturbed in his material repose, he undertakes to declare that one gains by fidelity more than he loses in the creature comforts.

I am a clergyman, and can sympathize with clergymen. Their position is one of peculiar difficulty. As a general thing, they lack the elements of worldly success; they are quiet men, particularly sensitive to popular disapproval. Their professional relations with people make temporizing appear praiseworthy, while their daily supply of bread and butter is more directly put in jeopardy by their decision than is most men's. I do not say this to justify the minister's unfaithfulness. It cannot be justified. His position, which makes unfaithfulness easy, makes it also the worse. He professes to teach the highest truth; to inculcate the purest morality; he preaches justice, humanity, mercy, the gospel of Divine Fatherhood and of Brotherly Love; he preaches the transientness of outward possessions, the vanity of riches, the supreme worth of virtue, the crowning glory of self-denial. For him to palter is double, nay, treble infamy. On the score of justice, I do not think the Abolitionists have spoken a whit too severely of the recreant Church. On the score of *justice* I say; but is there not something better than justice? I plead for *mercy* in behalf of my brothers, in behalf of myself. It is asking a great deal that a man shall give up all for conscience' sake, when nearly all of his own class, men whose wisdom and purity he reveres, tell him that his conscience is diseased. Make the minister's heart stronger by your encouragement; come round him with your sympathy; do not withhold your good-will till he has gained the victory and does not need it. Take his fidelity for granted, and so compel him to be faithful by letting him know what you expect from him, not what you fear. Do not give him over to his evil spirits nor let him wrestle with his enemy alone. If he is worth judging he is worth saving.

Alas, to what a dreadful strait has the Slave Power reduced us! Read the statement of it which your own greatest statesman, Mr. Seward, has made. I take this passage from a Speech at Albany, Oct. 12, 1855:

"You are commanded by an unconstitutional law of Congress to seize and deliver up to the members of that privileged class their fugitive slaves, under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of your estates. You may not interpose between the armed slaveholder and the wounded slave, to prevent his being murdered, without coming under arrest for treason, nor may you cover his naked and lacerated limbs except by stealth. You have fought twenty years and with but partial success for the constitutional right to lay your remonstrances on the table of Congress. You may not tell the freed slave who reaches your borders that he is free, without being seized by a Federal Court and condemned, without a trial or even an accusation, to an imprisonment without bail or mainprize, and without limitation of sentence. Your representatives in either House of Congress must speak with bated breath and humbled countenance in presence of the representatives of the privileged class, lest justice be denied to your old soldiers when they claim their pensions, or to your labourers when they claim the performance of their contracts with the Government. The President of the United States is reduced to the position of a deputy of the privileged class, emptying the treasury and marshalling battalions and ships-of-war to dragoon you into the execution of the Fugitive Slave law on the one hand, while he removes governors and judges at their command who attempt to maintain lawful and constitutional resistance against them in the Territory of Kansas. The Vice-President of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives are safe men whom the privileged class can trust in every case. The care of the judiciary of the territories and even of the foreign relations is intrusted in either house to assured supporters of that class. Protection is denied to your wool, while it is freely given to the slaveholder's sugar. Millions of acres of the public domain are freely given to Alabama for railroads, and even as gratuities, while not a dollar can be obtained to remove the rocks of Hell-gate and the sands of the Overslaugh, or the bars in Lake St. Clair or in the mouths of your lake harbours. Canada, lying all along your Northern borders, must not even be looked upon lest you may lust after it, while millions upon millions are lavished in war and diplomacy to annex and spread slavery over Louisiana, Florida, Texas, Mexico, Cuba and Central America. Your liberty of speech, where is it? You may not, without severe rebuke, speak of despotism in foreign lands, lest the slave overhear you on the plantations of the privileged class, or the foreign despot visit them, in retaliation, for your unavailing sympathy. The national flag, the emblem of universal liberty, covers cargoes of slaves, not only in your own view, but flaunts defiance over them in foreign ports. Judges of the United States Courts, safe under the protection of the President and the Senate, charge grand juries, in advance of any question, that obnoxious and unequal Federal laws are constitutional and obligatory; they give counsel to legislative bodies how to frame laws which they will sustain, instead of waiting to review those laws when enacted. They even convert the writ of freedom to an engine of slavery, and they pervert the power of punishing irregularities committed in their presence into the machinery of a tyranny as odious as that of the star-chamber. The privileged class in Virginia imprison your seamen in their ports in retaliation for the independence of your executive authorities; and you are already in a doubtful struggle for the right to exclude the traffic in slaves from your own borders."

And what has brought us to this strait but paltering? Confessedly, it is compromise; and what is compromise but paltering, under a more respectable name? Allowedly, it was concession; and in such a case, what was concession but paltering? To make a bargain, known to be unprincipled, in order to secure peace and quietness, is not that paltering? To sign away a trifle of rectitude for the sake of keeping a huge mass of prosperity, is not that paltering? Under an act of solemn bond and treaty, drawn up in the name of God, to relinquish ever so little of his claim on the soul, is not that paltering? How were these compromises regarded by those who made them? History proves that they who made the compact in favour of slavery, knew they were doing wrong; they compressed their lips and knitted their brows; they protested that they yielded to circumstances; they called God to witness that what they did was done sorrowfully; that nothing more was resigned than necessity demanded. But was not this paltering? Was it not serving desire and soothing conscience at the same time? Was it not obeying passion and self-interest under the sacred name of Duty? Most assuredly it was. There is not a shadow of doubt about it. And one concession led to another. Every concession of good provoked a new claim of evil. And so the mischief, through our own fault, has become what it is.

How plainly paltering showed its hand in the famous compromises of 1850, when Commerce gained the victory over Conscience, and Christ's image, carved in ebony, was sold for Southern votes—when the Higher Law was flouted in the name of God, and practical religion was commended in the name of cotton; when, under the holy guise of Peace, men sought prosperity, and, under the sacred pretext of saving the Union, cut the living bands of brotherhood—when, with the most solemn words of duty on their lips, men plotted to gratify the most material desire, and alleged the obligation of a Divine contract as an excuse for passing and executing the infamous slave bill. Then paltering was elevated to the rank of a science and dignified with the character of a principle. As a substitute for the Golden Rule, it was preached from the porticos of taverns, and the desks of lyceum-halls, and the pulpits of churches. Lay preachers, the most eminent and powerful, enlisted as missionaries of the new gospel. Great statesmen became its apostles and wrote epistles to the synagogues of Trade, urging the people to overcome, under the name of "prejudices," the noblest dictates of their moral sense. And did not the new gospel have its martyrs, too? Did it not bring down the great son of New England in sorrow to his grave?

All this was sad enough; but when the Nebraska bill came, the paltering was renewed. Instead of rallying at once to meet the new foe, multitudes made of Senator Douglas a scape-goat for their own sins. By a tremendous outcry against the breaking up of an old compact, they sought to cover up their own shame in making it. By a pretended indignation that the friends of the slave system should have violated a bond by which they pledged themselves that this system should never overpass a certain defined limit, these *foes* of the system, who had pledged themselves that the institution they abhorred should remain forever undisturbed within its new boundaries, made capital for their self-righteousness. Men rose in public and confessed that they had tried to stifle their consciences; that they had struggled to restrain the expression of their feelings and to repress their rising convictions of truth; men boasted of their fidelity to infamous promises and of their success in forgetting their religious principles, and seemed to think that in all this they might be held justifiable and righteous if they only complained vigorously enough of their adversaries, who had merely repudiated a civil contract which they made without any moral scruples whatever.

Then there were some who stormed in the name of all that was holy against the movers of the Nebraska bill, denouncing it as a perfidy and a crime, lifting up their hands in pious horror at the thought of such iniquity, when all they regretted was the troublesome renewal of Northern agitation and the awakening of the Northern conscience. They sought not righteousness, but peace—they resented not the extension of slavery, but the reopening of the question—they feared not the aggression of tyranny, but the opposition of freedom—not the energy of Satan, but the energy of God. And so, in order to keep God *quiet* in human souls, they fulminated in his name against Satan.

When shall we learn to speak plainly and sincerely against slavery, and to follow up our speech by our deeds? When shall we learn to throw our whole action unreservedly on the side of God? When will we believe that he who seeks first the kingdom of heaven shall have everything else added to him? They threaten us with war if we take this position. Useless threat! The war is already declared! The war is already begun! The war has been raging for half a century! Slavery itself is a condition of war. It had its origin in war, its first victims being captives of the spear. It lives by war—its agents being perpetually engaged in fomenting feuds between the native princes of Africa to gain material for their traffic. It protects itself by war—it hides behind walls and gates—it rings alarm bells; its barracks are guarded by armed patrols—it never walks abroad without bowie-knife and pistol—it appears in Boston, and the streets bristle with files of soldiery—the hall of justice is stunned by the din of arms—outcast ruffians and murderers stalk about insulting the citizens. It extends itself by war, riding into Kansas with rifle and halter, to conquer a territory it has stolen; substituting martial for civil law, and proclaiming the warrior's axiom that *might* is *right*. The very virtues incident to a state of slavery, the virtues of the dominant class, are warlike virtues such as belong to the soldier alone. The dashing recklessness, the hot-blooded chivalry, the lavish generosity, the fiery sense of honour, the careless gaiety, the frank, easy, good nature, the impetuous passion, whether of love or hate, the swaggering grace, the luxury, all mark the soldier. Such qualities are peculiar to feudal, which is military, society. Slavery is ever breathing menaces of war. On the least provocation it offers battle. For fifty years it has kept the country on the brink of civil broils. Only the greatest moderation on our part has saved us from bloodshed. It has submitted Boston to martial rule; it is waging war in Kansas. The North stands on the defensive, with a pistol pointed at her breast. What is to be done? We must fight—in behalf of peace and order we must fight. War must be confronted with war. We must fight with such weapons as we have. There are those who believe that Sharp's rifles are necessary in Kansas; but we have nobler and mightier weapons—brave words—words that are half-battles; words charged with the power of moral conviction; words heavy with reason and truth, which slay not the body, but wicked spirits which possess the body. The Devil will still shudder and flee when the believer firmly pronounces the name of God.

Our Philadelphia Correspondent.

PHILADELPHIA, May 19th, 1856.

THE chief topics of interest, just now, are the approaching Political Conventions. Of these, the one to be held at Cincinnati on the 2d of June excites, hereaway, the most attention. Who will be the nominee? is the question that is everywhere asked. Will it be Buchanan or Pierce? Douglas or Bright? Hunter or Rusk? or some *novus homo* kept in reserve, to be trotted out, like James K. Polk or the present "incumbrance," at the opportune moment? These are questions which are met by answers as various and numerous as are the parties interested in their solution. The prevailing impression, however, seems to be that, whoever may be the successful candidate, it will *not* be "Pennsylvania's favourite son." The reasons for this opinion are, that he—the favourite son—is too conservative, too tenacious of old land-marks to suit the present progressive tendencies of his party, particularly of that wing of it—which, by the way, is the main body—lying at the South. In times past, Mr. Buchanan was regarded as an unquestionable pro-slavery man, and a sure ally of the slaveholders; but since Pierce and Douglas have entered the lists, as competitors for Southern favour, he has been left far behind, and his soundness on this question has begun to be seriously doubted. He is supposed to be a pro-slavery man of the Reeder school; that is, out-and-out pro-slavery as against the Abolitionists, but as against the propagandists of the South likely to prove in an emergency as formidable an opponent of slavery as his old friend and associate, the late Governor of Kansas. And any protestations to the contrary, on the part of his friends or on his own part, are not likely to remove these apprehensions. That he and they will say anything that the slaveholders may require is a matter of course. The nomination is to be secured by all means, and at any cost. "All is fair in politics"; "the end justifies the means." These are maxims the use of which is well understood by the men who will control the action of the Cincinnati Convention, and it is not considered likely that unreliable words will avail in that body against irreversible facts. The facts in Mr. Buchanan's case which it is supposed will be fatal to his prospects are these:

1st. He is a Northern man—born and bred. As a matter of education and habit, to say nothing of morality and religion, he must, therefore, prefer freedom to slavery, and Northern to Southern institutions and usages. It is not a sufficient reply to this that Franklin Pierce was also born and bred amid Northern institutions, and that, nevertheless, he has almost out-calhouned Calhoun in the length to which he has shown himself ready to go on this slavery question. Mr. Pierce is regarded as an anomaly; as one in *seventeen million;* and it is not to be expected, it is urged, that another available man of equal reliability for the South will ever be found who has had his growth on Northern soil.

2d. Mr. Buchanan has committed himself in the most deliberate and solemn manner to the policy of retaining the Missouri Compromise. This line he was in favour of extending west to the Pacific ocean. But on this point hinges the whole question now at issue. How can the advocates of the repeal of the compromise line, as unconstitutional, support for the Presidency a man who, when he was under no temptation to avow other views, declared himself in favour of retaining and extending that obnoxious limitation?

3d. Mr. Buchanan, besides having been born and reared in the non-slaveholding atmosphere of Pennsylvania, has, for the last two or three years, been breathing the anti-slavery air of Old England. It is not supposed to be possible that a non-slaveholding citizen of Quaker Pennsylvania, after hob-nobbing with the aristocratic Abolitionists of anti-slavery England, can come back to the United States, and, at the age of sixty-five, with his habits formed, by an effort of will, at the beck of a nominating convention, become a slaveholder at heart, and a reliable standard-bearer of the slave-driving democracy. Such a thing would not be natural, and words of promise are not to be accepted by the vigilant friends of the system in the face of such unpropitious facts.

4th. Some of the late accessions to Mr. Buchanan's support are likely to weaken quite as much as to strengthen him in the Cincinnati Convention. In this city, prominent Whigs of avowed Free Soil and anti-Nebraska sentiments have declared in favour of Mr. Buchanan, and are now justifying their action on the ground that he is a conservative man; more deserving the confidence of the North than any other candidate likely to be elected; a man who, while he would not favour the Abolitionists, would nevertheless use his constitutional power to check the progress of border-ruffianism and slaveholding lawlessness, and who would administer the government with that sort of old-fashioned impartiality that would lend no extra official support to slavery, and, at the same time, impose no unconstitutional or uncalled-for checks upon the natural progress of freedom. These arguments, though they may be good toward the justification of professedly Free Soil Whigs for supporting an avowedly pro-slavery Democrat, are nevertheless not exactly the reasons likely to secure the nomination of the favourite candidate in a convention ruled by slaveholders.

For these reasons and others, it is supposed in this quarter that Mr. Buchanan's name will not receive the sanction of a two-thirds vote at the Convention which is to be held at Cincinnati on the 2d of next month. Who the favoured individual will be, you know as well as I, and your uninformed readers probably as well as either or both of us.

The nominee of the Republican Convention which is to meet in this city on the 17th of June—who he will and who he will not be—is almost as much a matter of conjecture as is that unknown individual who is to be chosen by the Democrats at Cincinnati. William H. Seward, I suppose, would be the first choice of the most anti-slavery portion of the body; but Mr. Seward has not sufficient outside popularity to make his election, at this time, a possibility. Next to him, I presume, would come Governor Chase, but he is "crushed out" for the same reason. Speaker Banks has been spoken of, and is favourably regarded; but from present appearances the contest will be narrowed down to the conflicting claims of Colonel Fremont and Judge McLean. Judging from the expression which I have heard around me, I should infer that the former was most likely to receive the nomination; but as my intercourse with political men is very limited, it would hardly be fair to regard this expression as a reflection of the prevailing opinion. In favour of Mr. Fremont it is said that he is a Southern man by birth; a Democrat; a Western man and a Californian by residence and citizenship; that he is a young man, and not an old fogy; that he is son-in-law to Colonel Benton; that he is a soldier, and a true soldier; that he is eminent as a pioneer and explorer; that he is not unfamiliar with civil affairs; and that withal, if elected, he would use the power of his office to arrest the tide of slavery, and to promote the spread of freedom and free institutions. These are some of the reasons urged by his friends to prove his availability and suitability for the nomination for President. It is also said that he enjoys the advantage of being a new man, and, therefore, not so likely to arouse political antipathies as would be an old politician. What is said in favour of Judge McLean I hardly know, except that he is acceptable to the Know-Nothings and popular among the Methodists, of whom he is a member. I dare say, however, that those who advocate his nomination will be able, when the time comes, to make out a case in his favour; but it will seem odd, will it not, to hear the men who have been denouncing Judge McLean for his "infamous" decisions under the Fugitive Slave law, advocating his election to the Presidency of the Union.

So much for politics; I would say a word about ecclesiastical matters, as this is the season for the annual meetings of our religious bodies, but I have little space left, and besides, have you not the Old and New School Presbyterian Assemblies, those great exponents of the religious feeling of the country on the subject of slavery, at this moment in session in your own city, and just under your own observation, and can you not tell your readers much more of what is going on ecclesiastically than I?

We have had in this city the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, but, so far as my reading of the reports of their proceedings have gone, slavery was "not even named among" them.

The Quakers (Orthdox) held their Yearly Meeting last month, as usual, in this city; but the absorbing question among them was *Wilburism* and *Gurneyism* (tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee—so far as anything practical was concerned), the great question of slavery and freedom receiving but a passing notice.

The other branch of the Society (Hicksites, so called) held their meeting last week, and it is said that the subject of slavery received a fair share of attention, and elicited a good deal of timely and appropriate expression. The women's meeting adopted an address to slaveholders, which, it is said, breathes a proper spirit, and is well adapted to do good. It is to be printed and circulated. The men's meeting took no part in the measure, but encouraged the women to proceed on their own responsibility.

"Progressive Friends" are now holding their Yearly Meeting at Kennett Square, and you will doubtless be apprised in due time of their sayings and doings.

I send you herewith a report which has been furnished me of certain proceedings against Alderman Freeman, of this city, the same being a sort of episode in the Wheeler and Williamson case. The testimony against Freeman is strong and the charge of malfeasance in office is likely to be clearly made out.

The trial of Judge Kane for false imprisonment, in the case of Passmore Williamson, will not come on this month, owing to the law's proverbial proneness to delay, but is fully expected to proceed in August. Mr. Williamson does not abate one jot of heart or hope, but is fully determined to pursue the case to "the bitter end."

William Wells Brown has been lecturing and reading his Anti-Slavery Drama in and around Philadelphia to great acceptance, and with happy effects upon the cause. Mr. Brown is one of our most faithful and consistent anti-slavery labourers, and we Pennsylvanians are always glad to have him among us. M.

From our Dublin Correspondent.

DUBLIN, May 2d, 1856.

MESSRS. EDITORS: When I write the Chronicles of Dublin, I mean to mark this day for two things. First, Parker Pillsbury left us this morning, intending to pay a short visit to Manchester and to sail for Boston on the 10th of this month. He has had a varied experince since he landed in January, 1854, in Liverpool, crossed the Irish Channel, walked up to the desk where I am now writing, and saluted me, unawares, with "I suppose I am addressing Richard D. Webb," to which I answered in the style of Paddy Blake's famous Irish echo, "and I suppose I am speaking to Parker Pillsbury." Oh! the poor fellow was battle-worn and tempest-tost, just come off the stormy Atlantic in the wildest Winter month, after having passed through the bitter experience of a fourteen years' warfare with worse than beasts at Ephesus. What he suffered then from headaches, chills, cold feet, and all the symptoms of shattered health and spirits prostrated! I do not think that he would ever have lived to go home again, when he left us that time, if he had not been induced to accept an invitation to Bristol, where, under the hospitable roof of Mr. Estlin, he was prostrated by that terrible disease from which so few ever rise up, and hardly any completely recover. There, for the sake of his mission, as well as for his own, he had the kindest and most skilful attendance. So that he is now enabled to go homewards, looking heartier and better than any one could have then anticipated—his eye bright, his step firm, his complexion clear, his spirit undaunted, and his confidence in his cause unabated. In my early days, I often mused on the happiness and the honour which most have enjoyed in seeing and communing with the good and great, whose names were so familiar to me and the objects of my childish veneration. With what affectionate respect they must have been regarded! how kindly they must have been cared for! with what attention their hearers must have hung upon their lips. I was mistaken—that wealth, and rank, and pretention go farther in attracting the attention of the world than exalted character and illustrious services. Perhaps there are as many of the truly good and great in the world now as at any previous time—and, just as happens now, so in their day, Shakspeare, Milton and others, whose names we glory in, were jostled in the crowd and very few cared for them. Since my first acquaintance with the anti-slavery cause, my estimate of its importance and the good done for their race by the true workers in its behalf has never abated. So that I have often felt ashamed that there are so few here to bid a cordial God-speed to those whom you send over here. But I suppose the world's best men (and women) must not look to go on their way with drums beating and colours flying before them. If our friend Pillsbury had been the insipidest, stupidest "American Friend" that ever wore a straight collar, he would have received more ready kindness and hospitality from the Society of Friends than he has met as the brave-hearted veteran in a cause which, above all others, honours Christianity and asserts the sacredness of the dearest rights of humanity. I suppose the same might be said of all sects. I only speak of what I know. Still, there is a handful scattered over the three kingdoms by whom he was cordially welcomed and made to feel at home as he travelled from place to place; and if his visit has been beneficial to himself, I am sure it will be productive of good results to the cause whose apostle he is.

My *first* is a long way from my *second*, which is this, that to-day peace was formally proclaimed to the good citizens of Dublin, and the whole city is in a turmoil accordingly. We have had the streets lined with soldiers, and ever such a long procession of cavalry regiments, and artillery and field pieces, the Lord Mayor and Corporation, the Lord Lieutenant (formerly Lord Morpeth, and now the Earl of Carlisle—"two single gentlemen rolled into one") in General's uniform, with a brilliant staff (I believe that is the word) of officers in red coats, caps, and feathers and gold lace, beautiful to behold, and regimental bands—trumpets and kettle drums, and so forth—and beholders in citizen dress—with the windows full of ladies waving handkerchiefs, and the streets crowded with the lower orders, amongst whom, if you are clever in finding a needle in a bundle of straw, you might have detected your Dublin Correspondent taking notes for you to print them. One woman, with a child in her arms, at my elbow, remarked that the last time she saw peace proclaimed was after "Boney's" war. But she took occasion to observe that she was very little then—only about ten years old. But even admitting that she was only nine, I fear she must have seen her half century go by, like some other people of my acquaintance. As to the peace, I believe those who have to pay the taxes are glad the war is over. Though there are a good many who think we have got very little for our money, and that although it is well the Russians have been beaten, it would have been better if there had been no room left them to entertain any doubt on the subject. I have no question that Nicholas indulged in dreams of a Panslavonic Empire, and that, if he did not hope for universal rule, he expected to govern Europe by the terror of his name. I regard him as one of the cruellest and most thorough tyrants, on a great scale, that the world has ever seen. Perhaps no one man ever carried so much suffering to so many other men as he did in the course of his reign of nearly thirty years.

I am just now reading Olmsted's Seaboard Slave States with very great interest. It is a most valuable contribution to anti-slavery literature, though it does not seem to have been written with any partisan bias. It reminds me a good deal of Mr. Brace, another American traveller, who has written books on Germany and Hungary, and is also an adherent of the anti-slavery cause.

You have no doubt heard of John Sadlier, the Napoleon of swindlers past, present, and (I wish I could say) to come. His frauds have been on such a gigantic scale that it is only by slow degrees they are coming to light, and their extent, it is supposed, is by no means yet fathomed. As he was one of the Priest's party in Ireland, and was elevated to Parliament through their influence, they are sharers in some degree in his disgrace; for in the last three elections in which they interfered, their candidate was defeated. You may take great liberties with people without their showing resentment; but when they find you ever so remotely engaged in attacks upon their purses, they button up and lose their tempers. I do not suppose the "venerated clergy" know anything more of Sadlier's schemes than other people—but all who were on terms of great intimacy with him share in some degree in his disgrace. Yours truly, RICHARD D. WEBB.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA VS. JAMES B. FREEMAN.

THE prosecution in this case is at the instance of the free coloured men who participated, or were alleged to have participated, in the liberation of Mr. Wheeler's slaves, on the 18th of July last.

The five coloured men were arrested and taken before Freeman, as an Alderman of the City of Philadelphia, who refused to admit them to bail, but committed them for a further hearing the next day, when they were held, one of them in $6,000, two others in $7,000 each, and the remaining two in $9,000 bail each, upon the several charges of *assault* and *battery, riot, inciting to riot* and *highway robbery*, and, in default of bail, were committed to prison.

The warrant against Freeman was issued by Alderman Wm. H. Battee, and the charges made against him are that he corruptly and maliciously demanded excessive bail, and conspired with other persons to oppress and maltreat the defendants, who were brought before him. Thos. H. Speekman, Esq., appeared on behalf of the Commonwealth, and Richard Vauxly for the defendant.

The excessive and unreasonable amount of bail and the absurd and ridiculous charges made are relied upon as evidence of the corrupt motive and intent of the Alderman; but, in addition to this, much evidence has been given, during the several hearings that have been had, rendering it more conclusive.

It was shown that the Alderman absolutely refused bail in the first instance, in direct contravention, as is alleged, of an express provision in the Constitution; that the only evidence given upon the hearing against at least three of the coloured men was that they assisted the slave mother and her children in getting away, by pushing or helping them off the boat and along the avenue; that the Alderman declared to a person who called upon him to inquire what had been done in the case that he had committed the coloured men to prison and meant to put them under such bail as would insure their staying there; and that between the first commitment and the hearing next day he denied to several of the friends of the coloured men, who called on their behalf, that the hearing was to be before him, obviously to prevent any interference on their behalf.

Several persons also testified that he stated to them that he was acting in the whole matter under the instructions of Judge Kane.

The case is adjourned till the 23d inst., when it is understood that further evidence will be given.

THE venerable Dr. Lowell, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, whose zeal for the cause of freedom never grows old, and who has so often borne his testimony, at the right moment, on behalf of justice and truth, sends the following interesting reminiscence to the *Boston Transcript:*

MR. MADISON'S OPINION OF THE UNPROFITABLENESS OF SLAVERY.—*Mr. Editor:* In the year 1819, I made an equestrian tour through the eastern and western part of Virginia. I had letters of introduction to Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, and was welcomed and hospitably entertained by them both. Mr. Jefferson was at that time much interested in initiatory steps towards founding the University at Charlottesville, and took me to view the establishment. He was in favour of obtaining the instructors from abroad. Mr. Madison, as I afterwards learned from himself, was in favour of obtaining them from the Eastern States of our own country.

Mr. Madison told me that he was in Congress with my father, and on terms of friendship and intimacy with him. I think he said that they lived at the same house. He introduced the subject of slavery, lamented its existence, and said it was most unprofitable to the master, as well as unjust to the slave; that it was "difficult, with slave labour, for a good planter in Virginia to make the two ends of the year meet." *These were his precise words.* My own observation in the eastern part of the State fully satisfied me of the justness of this remark. The cultivation of the land was miserable in the extreme. In the western part of the State, inhabited by Dutchmen, and where there were few or no slaves, the state of things was very different. The land was well cultivated where there was no overseer sitting on the fence, with his heavy whip held up in terrorem, to keep at their labour the degraded subjects of his tyranny, for it was tilled by the hands of freemen. C. L.

Elmwood, May, 1856.

FROM WASHINGTON.—Despatches were received, last week, from England announcing the determination of the British Government not to recall Mr. Crampton. The Government at Washington is reported to have determined to dismiss the Minister. There is very little apprehension that this step would lead to a war, but the difficulties between the two governments are further complicated by the recognition by President Pierce of Don Augustin Vijil, Walker's Minister from Nicaragua. The new Government thus recognised by the President has invaded the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and, as Walker and his fellow-pirates are all Americans, England may be disposed to hold the United States responsible for his acts.

Mr. Sumner has covered himself with renown, and his enemies with confusion, by a brilliant speech on Kansas in the Senate. We shall try to make room for it, or parts of it, next week.

GEORGE THOMPSON IN INDIA.—A late number of *The* (London) *Empire* announces the safe arrival of Mr. Thompson at Calcutta on the 25th of February. He was cordially welcomed by the principal residents of that city, and particularly by the natives, who remember the services he rendered their country in former years. Shortly after his arrival, adds the *Empire*, he became the guest of Baboo Prossona Comar Tagore, the most distinguished of Hindoo lawyers, Secretary of the Legislative Council of India, and a man of princely fortune. Mr. Thompson was present at Lord Dalhousie's farewell party at the Vice-regal palace, and was also present at Lady Canning's inaugural entertainment. The Indian newspapers contain some curious speculations respecting the object of his visit, the prevailing impression being that it is connected with the recently-deposed King of Oude. This, however, is an error, as Mr. Thompson's business in India is chiefly of a non-political character.

WM. WELLS BROWN has, during the past week, been holding anti-slavery meetings in Philadelphia, which were well attended. His lecture in the Second Presbyterian Church, on Sunday evening last, to the coloured people, on self-elevation, made a deep impression, and will, no doubt, do much good. The reading of the new Anti-Slavery Drama, entitled "Experience; or, How to give a Northern Man a Backbone," was received with great applause, and at its conclusion a general wish was expressed to have it repeated. The Drama is to be read in the Tremont Temple, at Boston, on Monday evening next, and will doubtless be highly appreciated by the large audience that will be there assembled. The Northern doughface, as well as the "peculiar institution," is vividly portrayed in the Drama, and it should be read in every city and town in the country.

PARKER PILLSBURY.—We learn from the last *Liberator* that Mr. Pillsbury was to leave Liverpool in the steamer of the 10th inst., and will probably be in Boston in the course of the present week. His friends there intend to welcome him back, after his long absence, at a social gathering on Wednesday evening next. Such a meeting will add much to the attractions of the New England Convention, as the Abolitionists of Massachusetts will gladly avail themselves of such an opportunity to testify their regard and admiration for the valuable services and long-tried zeal of one who has so faithfully devoted himself to the cause of the slave.

☞ THE latest news from Kansas is that Gov. Reeder has fled the Territory, to escape arrest or assassination—if there is any difference there; and that Gov. Shannon has called out the militia for an attack on Lawrence, if the writs against the Free State men should be resisted.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, No. 625, opens with the "Life of Margaret D'Angouleme," from the (London) *Christian Observer*, and contains several other interesting papers. The contents of No. 626 are as follows: "Life of Margaret D'Angouleme; The Quiet House; First Edition of the Pleasures of Hope; A Rogue's Life; Cetara; Prussian Exposure of the Spy System; The Peace; The Golden Opportunity; The Prussian Marriage; Poetry; Short Articles. New York: 343 Broadway.

Special Notices.

☞ NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.—The NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION will hold its Anniversary in the MELODEON, Boston, on TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, May 27th, 28th and 29th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Cheering as has been the growth of the Anti-Slavery movement, the time has not yet come for repose, or relaxation of effort; on the contrary, never has there been more need of tireless vigilance, zealous exertion, unyielding determination, and pecuniary liberality, than now. Is not the Slave Power still master of the whole country, with its grasp upon all the leading sects and religious institutions, having at its command all the resources of the Republic to carry forward its fillibustering purposes, and to insure the success of "border ruffianism," aided by an Administration unparallelled for its perfidy and profligacy? Has not the South thrown away her old pretence, that negroes are to be held in slavery because they are an inferior race, and doomed to servitude as the descendants of Canaan; and does she not daringly assert, that *the labouring classes* ought to be made to wear the yoke of bondage, whatever may be the colour of their skin?—that free institutions are a failure, and must be superseded by the institution of chattel slavery universally?

Among the veteran and eloquent advocates of the slave, who will participate in the discussions, may confidently be expected our long absent and highly esteemed coadjutor, PARK

ADDRESS OF THEODORE PARKER.

[Continued from First Page.]

ers—will make laws for the advantage of the slaveholder, against the interest of the slave and the non-slaveholder. That is the effect on the Southern man.

Now, see the effect on the working-men of the North, who emigrate to that quarter. They must go as slaveholders or as non-slaveholders. Some will go as slaveholders—such as take a south-side view of human wickedness in general. You know what the effect will be on them. Compare the condition and character of New England men who have settled in Georgia, and become slaveholders, with others of the same families—their brothers and cousins—who have remained at home, and engaged in commerce and manufactures.

But not many Northern men will go there and become slaveholders. Some will go as non-slaveholders, and you will see under what disadvantage they must labour. They must live by their work, and in a place where labour is not honoured, as in Connecticut, but which is despised, as in South Carolina and Arkansas. The working white man must stand on a level with the slave. He belongs to a despised caste. He will have but little self-respect, and very soon will sink down to the character and condition of the poor whites in the old slave States. A scientific friend of mine, who travels extensively in both hemispheres, says that he has not found the Caucasian people anywhere so degraded as in Tennessee and the Carolinas.

Next, there will be no miscellaneous mechanical industry, as in New England and all the free States. Agriculture will be the chief business—almost the only business, and that will be confined to the great staples, corn, wheat, rice, tobacco, cotton; the aim will be only to produce the raw material; agriculture will be poor, land will be low in price, and continually getting run out by unskilful culture; the slave's foot burns the soil and spoils the land; that is the master's fault. Twenty years hence land will not be worth $16 an acre, as in sterile New-Hampshire, but $4, as in fertile Georgia. There will be no rapid development of wealth; and as the Northern man values wealth, I think he should look to this, and see that the country is not taken from under his foot and wealth from out his pocket.

Then there will be no good and abundant roads, as in New England, but only a few, as in Carolina and Virginia, and those miserably poor. In Kansas, twenty years hence, there will not be 1,964 miles of railroad, as in Illinois, but 231 miles, as in Missouri.

There will be no abundant free schools, as in New England, but a few and of the worst sort. Education will be the monopoly of the rich, who will not get much thereof. Laws will forbid the education of the slave, and discourage the culture of the mass of the people.

There will be no lyceums, no courses of lectures, but in their place there will be horse-races, occasionally the lynching of an Abolitionist, or the burning of a black man at a slow fire! Yet now and then a northern man will be invited thither by the slaveholders—some unapostolical fisherman will take the majestic memory of Washington, disembowel it of all its most generous humanity, skilfully arrange it as bait, and then, with bob and sinker, hook and line, this political Micawber, "looking for something to turn up," will go angling along the shores, praying for at least a Presidential bite, and possibly obtain a nibble.

There will be no "libraries other than private," with their 108,000 volumes, as in Michigan; only 420 volumes, as in Arkansas; but a noble army of ignoramuses, twenty-five men out of each hundred adult white men, will attest the value of the peculiar institution.

There will be no multiplicity of valuable newspapers, with an annual circulation of 3,324,000 copies, as in Michigan; but a few political journals scattering 377,000 dingy sheets, as in Arkansas.

There will be no abundant and convenient meeting-houses, as in the North; not 120,000 comfortable pew-seats in neat and decorous churches, as in Michigan; but only 60,000 benches in barns and log-huts, as in Arkansas.

There will be no laws favouring all men, but statutes putting the neck of labour into the claws of capital, by which the strong will crush the weak and enslave the weakest of all; laws like those of South Carolina, which provide that nobody shall sit in the popular house of the Legislature unless in his own right he own "ten negro slaves."

There will be no universal suffrage, as in Massachusetts, but a man's political rights and the amount of his estate will be determined by the colour of his skin. One permanent class will monopolize government, money, education, honour and ease; the other permanent class will be forced to bondage, ignorance, poverty and shame. This is the prospect which the Northern man will find before him if slavery prevails in this new Territory.

That is not all; his property and person will not be safe, as in Michigan; border-ruffians will permanently have gone over the border, and a new Arkansas be established in Kansas.

Under such circumstances, Northern men will not go there: and so Kansas—and then all the other territory—is stolen from the North as effectually as if ceded to Russia, or annexed to the Spanish domain. Yes, more completely lost, for if it did belong to Spain, we might reclaim it by *fillibustering*, and the American government would not disturb, but help us. Then, if a Northern man wishes to migrate, he has only got the poorer land of Washington and Oregon before him, and he is shut out from the most valuable territory of the United States. If the city government of Boston were next month to establish a piggery on Boston Common, with fifty thousand swine, and set up an immense slaughter-house of the savagest and filthiest character in the Granary Burying Ground on Copp's Hill, and in each other of the public squares, they would not do a greater proportional damage to the real estate and mischief to the health of the inhabitants of the city than the American government would do the working people of the South and North by creating this nuisance of slavery on the free soil of Kansas.

So much for the effect of this on the material interests of the working people of America. I have only taken the lowest possible view of the subject.

See its effects on American politics. If Kansas is made a slave State, we shall either keep united or else dissolve the Union and separate. Suppose we keep united, what follows? First, New Mexico will be a slave State, then Utah; California is only half for freedom now, and will soon split into two—Lower California will be slave. Then Texas will peel off into new States, Western Texas will soon be made a new slave State. Then the Mesilla valley, bigger than Virginia, will be a slave territory. Then we shall dismember Mexico, make slave territory there; we shall *reannex* the Mosquito territory; the government wants it, and lets all manner of fillibusters go there now. Then we shall seize Cuba, to make that soil red with the white man's blood, which is now black with African bondage. Then we shall carry out the Fugitive Slave bill in the North as never before. In 1836, Mr. Curtis asked the Supreme Court of Massachusetts to decree that a slaveholder from Louisiana might take his bondman there as a slave—hold him as a slave—sell him as a slave—or, as a slave, carry him back. In 1855, Mr. Kane decreed that a slaveholder might bring his slave into a free State and keep him there as long as he would *in transitu*. Then we must have laws to enforce these demands; Congress will *legislate*, and the Supreme Court will *rule* to put slavery into every Northern State. In the beginning of June, 1854, this same Mr. Curtis, then become a Judge, gave a *charge*, in which he made it appear that to make a speech in Faneuil Hall against kidnapping was a misdemeanour. Yes, if a Massachusetts minister sees his parishioners kidnapped, and makes a speech in Faneuil Hall against that iniquity, and tells the people that they are slaves of Southern masters, Mr. Justice Curtis says that that man has committed a crime to be punished by imprisonment for twelve months, and a fine of three hundred dollars! By and by that charge will be "good common law." *All* lawyers will be slavehunters; *all* judges of the Scroggs family; *all* court-houses girt with chains; *all* the newspapers administration and Satanic; *all* the Trinitarian Doctors of Divinity will take a south-side view of wickedness in high places; *all* the Nothingarian Doctors of Divinity will send back their mothers—for a consideration! And then what becomes of Freedom of Speech—Freedom to Worship God—what of Inalienable Rights to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness? It goes where Korah and Dathan and Abiram are said to have gone long ago. The earth will open her mouth and swallow us up—the justice of God will visit us—our crime, greater than that of Sodom and Gomorrah, for we shall have committed high treason against the dearest rights of man, and He will rain on us worse than fire and brimstone, and our name shall rot in the Dead Sea of infamy, and the curses of mankind hang over our memory for ever and ever—world without end!

This regressive force, which retards the progress and diminishes the welfare of the South, and yet controls the politics of America, is determined to conquer the progressive force, to put liberty down, to spread bondage over all the North, to organize it in all the wild land of the continent. The ablest champions of this iniquity were Northern men. The same North which bore Seward and Chase—not to mention others equally noble—is mother also to Cushing and Douglas; and one of these would "crush out" all opposition to slavery, all love of welfare and progress; the other is reported to have said to the North, in the Senate, "We mean to subdue you." Mark the words. "WE MEAN TO SUBDUE YOU!" That is the aim of the Administration, to make Progress, Regress; Welfare, Illfare; to make Democracy and Christianity, Despotism and Anti-Christianity; that is the purpose of the oligarchy of slaveholders to be exacted with these triple Northern tools already named—*base* men, *mean* and *ignorant* men.

The first great measure is to put slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, into 450,680 miles of wild land.

To accomplish that, five steps were necessary. Here they are:

I. The first was to pass an act to organize the Kansas and Nebraska territory. That accomplished two things:

1. It repealed the Missouri Compromise, and laid the territory open to the slaveholder.

2. It established squatter sovereignty, and allowed the settlers to make laws for slavery or freedom, as they saw fit. The South intended that it should be a slave State.

You know how this first step was taken in 1854, what was done by Congress, by the President; you have not forgotten the conduct of Mr. Douglas, of Illinois. Massachusetts yet remembers the behaviour of Mr. Everett. It is rather difficult to find all the facts concerning this Kansas business; lies have been woven over this whole matter, and I know of no transaction in human history which has been covered up with such abundant lying, from the death of Ananias and Sapphira down to the first nomination of Governor Gardiner. Still the main facts appear through this garment of lies.

II. The second step was to give the new Territory a slave government, which would take pains to organize slavery into the land, and freedom out of it. So the Executive appointed persons supposed to be competent for that work, and, amongst others, Mr. Reeder, of Easton, in Pennsylvania, who was thought to be fit for that business; but it turned out otherwise—he became conscientious, and refused to execute the infamous and unlawful commands of the Executive. Finding it was so, the President—I have it on good authority—tried to bribe him to resign, offering him—the highest office then vacant—ministry to China. Governor Reeder refused the bribe, and then was discharged from his office, on the pretence of some pecuniary unfaithfulness. Mr. Shannon was thrust into his place, for which he seems to the manner born, for—I have this also on good authority—his habitual drunkenness seems to be one of the smallest of his public vices.

III. The third step was to establish slavery by squatter sovereignty. For this, two things were indispensable—(1) to elect a Legislature friendly to slavery; and (2) to get laws made by that Legislature to secure the desired end.

1. This must be done by actual settlers; and then, for the first time in this career of wickedness, a difficulty was found. The people were to be consulted—and no *coup d'état* of the government could do this work. There was an unexpected difficulty. For, soon as Kansas was open, great bodies went there from the North to settle and secure it to freedom. It soon became plain they were numerous enough to bring squatter sovereignty itself over to the side of humanity, and by their votes exclude bondage forever. This must be prevented by the regressive force. Mr. Atchison, Mr. Stringfellow and others were appointed to take the matter in hand. Citizens of Missouri organized themselves into companies, and in military order, with pistols and bowie-knives, and in one instance with cannon, went over the border into Kansas, to determine the elections by excluding the legal voters and themselves casting the ballot. In ten months they made four general invasions of Kansas. (1.) On the 29th of July, 1854; (2.) 29th November, 1854; (3.) 30th March, 1855, and (4.) 22d May, 1855. The third was the *great invasion*, made to elect the legislators who were to enact the territorial laws. It appears that five thousand men marched bodily from Missouri to Kansas, some of them penetrating two hundred miles into the interior, and delivered their votes, electing men who would put slavery into the land. The fourth was a smaller and local invasion—to fill vacancies in the Legislature.

I cannot dwell on these things, nor stop to speak of the violence and murder repeatedly committed by these border ruffians, under the eyes and with the consent, and by the encouragement of the American Executive. You can read those things in the newspapers, at least in the New York *Tribune* and *Evening Post*. But suffice it to say, the Legislature thus chosen was wholly illegal. If Jersey City were to order a municipal election, and New York were to go there and choose Aldermen and Common Council, and the new officers were to act in that capacity, we should have a parallel of what took place in Kansas. Thus they secured the first requisite—a slave Legislature.

2. It must next proceed to make the appropriate laws. The Legislature came together on the 2d July, 1855, at the place legally fixed by Governor Reeder; they passed an illegal act fixing the seat of government at Shawneetown, on the borders of Missouri, and adjourned thither. The Governor vetoed the act, and repudiated the Legislature, illegally chosen at first, illegally acting afterwards. But they continued in session there from July 15th to August 31st, and made a huge statute-book of more than 1,000 great pages. It contains substantially the laws of Missouri, but in some instances they were made worse. Take this for example:

"No person who shall have been convicted of any violation of any of the provisions of an act of Congress" (the Fugitive Slave bills of 1793 and 1850), "whether such conviction was by criminal proceeding or by civil action, in any courts of the United States, or of any State or Territory, shall be entitled to vote at any election, or to hold any office in this Territory."

"If any person offering to vote shall be challenged and required to take an oath or affirmation that he will sustain the provisions of the above recited acts of Congress"—the Fugitive Slave bills—"and shall refuse to take such oath or affirmation, the vote of such person shall be rejected." Ch. 66, § 11, p. 332.

There is no similar provision depriving a man of his vote if he violate any other statute; but an act of humanity disfranchises a man forever, nay, performing an act of kindness to a brother perpetually deprives a man of his share in government!

Look at this statute:

"Every free person who shall aid . . in any rebellion or insurrection of slaves . . . or do any overt act in furtherance of such rebellion . . . shall suffer death."

"If any person shall . . . . . induce any slaves to rebel . . or shall . . . circulate . . . any book . . . or circular for the purpose of exciting insurrection . . . on the part of the slaves, such person shall . . . suffer death."

"If any person shall aid . . . in enticing . . . any slave . . . to effect the freedom of such slave . . . he shall . . . suffer death, or be imprisoned at hard labour for not less than ten years." Ch. 151, § 2, 4, 5.

Look at this:

"SEC. 11. If any person print, write, introduce into, publish, or circulate, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published, or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing, or circulating, within this Territory, any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, handbill, or circular, containing any statements, arguments, opinions, sentiments, doctrines, advice, or inuendo, calculated to promote a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the slaves in this Territory, *or to induce such slaves to escape from the service of their masters*, or to resist their authority, *he shall be* guilty of a felony, and be *punished by imprisonment and hard labour for a term not less than five years*."

"SEC. 12. *If any free person, by speaking or by writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print*, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be introduced into this Territory, written, printed, published, or circulated, in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person *shall be* deemed guilty of felony, *and punished by imprisonment at hard labour for a term of not less than two years*."

"SEC. 13. No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall sit as a juror on the trial of any prosecutions, or any violation of any of the sections of this act."

That law excludes the New Testament and the Old Testament, as well as the Declaration of Independence, and the works of Franklin, Jefferson, Madison; it shuts humanity from the jury box!

IV. The next step was to get a State delegate from Kansas into the House of Representatives at Washington. So, on the 1st of October, 1855, the day appointed by the Border Ruffian Legislature to elect a delegate, a fifth invasion was made by outsiders from Missouri, who, as before, took possession of the polls, and chose Hon. J. W. Whitfield to that office. Mr. Shannon, the new and appropriate Governor of the Territory, gave him a certificate of lawful election. He is now at Washington in that capacity. But the House of Representatives has the matter under advisement; a committee has gone to Kansas to investigate the matter, and the country waits, anxious for the results.

V. The only remaining step is to enforce their slave law, and then Kansas becomes a slave State. But this is a difficult matter, for the people of the Territory, indignant at this invasion of their rights, long since repudiated the Legislature of ruffians, held a convention at Topeka, formed a constitution, which was submitted to the people and accepted by them. They have chosen their own Legislature, State officers, senators and representatives and applied for admission into the Union as a free State. But men who have already five times invaded the Territory threatened to go there again, and enforce the laws which they have already made. I need only to refer to the conduct of the President and his masters in the cabinet, and say that he has been uniformly on the side of this illegal violence. You remember his message last Winter, and his proclamation at a later day. He encourages the violence of these tools of the Slave Power, who have sought to tread the people down. Hence it becomes indispensable for the Northern emigrants to take arms. It was curious to see the old Puritan spirit coming out in the sons of the North—even those who went on theological errands. Excepting the Quakers, the Unitarians are the most unmilitary of sects; in Boston their most conspicuous ministers have been, perhaps still are, notorious supporters of the worst iniquities of American slavery. Surely you will not forget the ecclesiastical defences of the Fugitive Slave bill, the apologies for kidnapping. But a noble-hearted Unitarian minister, Rev. Mr. Nute, "felt drawn to Kansas." Of course, he carried his Bible—he knew it also by heart; his friends gave him a "repeating rifle" and a "revolver." These also "felt drawn to Kansas." This "minister at large"—very much at large, too, his nearest denominational brother, on one side, five hundred miles off, on the other fifteen hundred—trusts in God and keeps his powder dry. Listen to this, written December 3d, 1855:

"I have just been summoned to be in the village *with my repeating rifle*. I shall go and use my utmost efforts to prevent bloodshed. But if it comes to a fight, in which we shall be forced to defend our homes and lives against the assault of these border savages (and, by the way, the Indians are being enlisted on both sides), *I shall do my best to keep them off*."

On the 10th he writes:

"Our citizens have been shot at, *and in two instances murdered*, our houses invaded, hay ricks burnt, corn and other provisions plundered, cattle driven off, all communication cut off between us and the States, wagons on the way to us with provisions stopped and plundered, and the drivers taken prisoners, and we in hourly expectation of an attack. *Nearly every man has been in arms in the village*. Fortifications have been thrown up by incessant labour night and day. The sound of the drum and the tramp of armed men resounded through our streets, *families fleeing with their household goods for safety*. Day before yesterday the report of cannon was heard at our house from the direction of Lecompton. Last Thursday one of our neighbours, one of the most peaceable and excellent of men, from Ohio, on his way home, was set upon by a gang of twelve men on horseback, and shot down. Several of the ruffians pursued him some distance after he was shot, and one was seen to push him from his horse, and heard to shout to his companions that he was dead. A neighbour reached him just before he breathed his last. I was present when his family came in to see the corpse for the first time at the Free State Hotel, a wife, a sister, a brother and an aged mother. It was the most exciting and the most distressing scene that I ever witnessed. Hundreds of our men were in tears as the shrieks and groans of the bereaved women were heard all over the building, now used for military barracks. Over eight hundred men are gathered under arms at Lawrence. As yet no act of violence has been perpetrated by those on our side. *No blood of retaliation stains our hands. We stand and are ready to act purely in the defence of our homes and lives. I am enrolled in the cavalry, though I have not yet appeared in the ranks, but should there be an attack*, I SHALL BE THERE. I have had some hesitation about the propriety of this course; but some one has said, 'In questions of duty, the first thought is generally the right one.' On that principle I find strong justification. *I could feel no self-respect until I had offered my services*.

"Day before yesterday we received the timely reinforcement of a twelve-pound howitzer, with ammunition therefor, including grape and cannister, with forty bomb-shells. It was sent from New York (made at Chicopee). By a deed of successful daring and cunning it was brought through the country, invested by the enemy, a distance of fifty miles, from Kansas City, by an unfrequented route, boxed up as merchandise.

"Sunday morning, Dec. 9th. The Governor has pledged himself to do all he can to make peace, and we are told that the invaders are beginning to retreat. But we know not what to believe. Our men are to be kept under arms for twenty-four hours longer, at least. *No religious meetings for the last three weeks*. No work done, of course. *Some of the logs to be sawed for our church were pressed into service to build a fort*, of which we have no less than five, and of no mean dimensions or strength. For a time it seemed probable that the *foundation stones for the church would be wet by the blood of the martyrs for Liberty*. They were piled up on the ground, and, with the earth thrown out of the excavation, made quite a fort on the hill-side just outside of the line of entrenchments."

That is the report of a Unitarian missionary! You know what the Trinitarians have done: the conduct of that noble man, Henry Ward Beecher—the most powerful and popular minister in the United States—and his "Plymouth church," and other "religious bodies" at New Haven and elsewhere, need not be spoken of. One effect is curious—"pious" newspapers are very much troubled at the talk of rifles, pistols and cannons. In 1847, they rated me soundly for preaching against the Mexican war—a war for plundering a feeble nation, that we might blacken her soil with slavery—it was "desecrating the Sabbath." They liked the Sims brigade, the Burns division; they did homage to the cannon which men-stealers loaded in Boston, therewith to shoot the friends of humanity on the graves of Hancock and Adams! Now the *mean* men and the *base* men are brought over to "peace principles"; a rifle is "not of the Lord"; a cannon is "a carnal weapon," a sword is "of the devil." All the South thinks gunpowder is "unchristian." Such a "change of heart" has not been heard of since the conversion of Saint Ananias and Sapphira.

I have no fondness for fighting, not the average "instinct of destruction." I should suffer a great while before I struck a blow. But there are times when I should take down the dreadful weapon of war; this is one of those for the men in Kansas.

It is not easy for the border ruffians to put down Kansas, not possible for them to break up the popular organization, destroy the new Constitution, and hang the officers. Will the President send the United States soldiers to do this? No doubt his heart is good enough for that work. We remember what he did with United State soldiers at Boston, in 1854! The only service they ever rendered in that town for more than forty years was to kidnap Anthony Burns! But the President falters—there is a North: all last Winter there was a North, Northern ice in the Mississippi, Banks of the North at Washington, in the Speaker's chair. The *President is afraid!*

Kansas and Nebraska are "the Children in the Wood." They had a fair inheritance, but the parents, dying, left them to a guardian uncle (the President). I heard the Northern mother say to him:

> "You must be father and mother both,
> And uncle, all in one."
>
> "You are the man must bring our babes
> To wealth or misery;
> And if you keep them carefully,
> Then God will you reward;
> But if you otherwise should deal,
> *God will your deeds regard.*"

It is still the old story; the executive uncle promises well enough, but

> "He had not kept these pretty babes
> But twelve months and a day,
> Before he *did devise*
> *To make them both away.*
>
> He bargained with two ruffians strong,
> [That is *Straightwhig* and *Democrat*]
> Which were of furious mood,
> That they should take these children young
> And *slay them in a wood.*"

It is still the old story. One of the ruffians kills the other, but in this case Democrat, the strong ruffian, killed Straightwhig, a weak ruffian, who had no backbone, and now seeks to kill the babes; he is not content to let them starve,

> "Their pretty lips with blackberries,
> So all besmeared and dyed."

He "*would make them both away.*" But that is not quite so easy. Kansas, the elder, turns out a very male child, a thrifty boy; *he will not die*—he refuses to be killed—but, with such weapons as he has, shows what blood he came of. His relations hear of the matter and make a noise about it. The uncle becomes the town talk. Even the ghost of Straightwhig is disquieted and "walks" in obscure places, by graveyards, "haunting" some house. Nay, the Northern mother rises from the grave; perhaps the Northern father is not dead, but only sleeping, like Barbarossa in that other fable, with his Sharp's rifle for a pillow; who knows but he, too, will "rise" and execute his own Will? The history may yet end after the old sort:

> "*And now the heavy wrath of God*
> *Upon the Uncle fell*—
> Yea, fearful fiends did haunt his house,
> His conscience felt a hell.
> His barns were fired, his goods consumed,
> His lands were barren made;
> *Conventions failed to nominate;*
> *No office with him stayed.*"

Kansas applies for admission as a free State, with a Constitution made in due form and by the people. The regressive force is determined that she shall be a slave State, and so all the 926,000 miles of territory become the spoil of the slaveholder. See the state of things.

The majority of the Senate is pro-slavery, of the Satanic Democracy. For once the House inclines the other way, leans towards freedom. A bill for making Kansas a slave State will pass the Senate; will be resisted in the House—then comes the tug of war. The North has a majority in the House, but is divided. If all will unite, they make Kansas a free State before the Fourth of next July. They can force the Government to this act of justice—simply by refusing to vote a dollar of money until Kansas is free. If the House will determine on that course, the two Executives—the Presidential and the Senatorial—will soon come to terms. This is no new expedient; it was often enough resorted to by our fathers in Old England under the Tudors and Stuarts; nay, the Dutch used it against Philip II.

But perhaps there is not virtue enough in the House to do this; then let the State Legislatures which are now in session send instructions; the People—who are always in session—petitions to that effect.

But perhaps the people themselves are not quite ready for this measure, and the House and Senate cannot agree. Then the question goes over to the next Presidential election, where it will be the most important element. There will be three candidates, perhaps four, for the Straight Whigs may put up some invertebrate politician, hoping to catch whatever shall "turn up." It is possible there shall be no choice by the people; then the election goes to the present House of Representatives, where the choice is by States. In either case, if the matter be managed well, the Progressive Force of America may get into the Presidential chair. I mean to say, we can choose an *Anti-Slavery President next Autumn*—some one who loves man and God—not merely money, loaves and fishes—who will counsel and work for the present welfare and future progress of America, and to promote that Christianity and democracy spoken of before. I shall not pretend to say who the man is; it must be some one who reverences JUSTICE—the Higher Law of God. He must be a strong man, a just man, a man *sure for the Right*. Let there be no humbug this time—no doubtful man.

If we once put an anti-slavery man, never so moderate, in that office, then see what follows immediately or at length:

1. The Executive holds 40,000 offices in his right hand; 70,000,000 annual dollars in his left hand; both will be dispensed so as to promote the welfare and the prosperity of the people. All the great offices, executive, judicial, diplomatic, commercial, will be controled by the Progressive Force, the Administration will be celestial-democratic, not Satanic merely, and seek by natural justice to organize things and persons so that all may have a share in labour and government. Then, when Freedom has money and office to bestow, she will become respectable in the South, where noble men, slaveholders and non-slaveholders, will come out of their hiding-places to bless their land which others have cursed so heavily and so long. There are anti-slavery elements at the South. "One swallow makes no summer"; but one Presidential summer of freedom will bring many swallows out from their wintry sleep, fabulous or real. Nay, the *ignorant* men of the North will be instructed, her *mean* men will be attracted by the smell of dinner, and her *base* men left alone in their rot, or will engage in other crime, but not in kidnapping men.

2. Kansas becomes a free State before the 1st of January, 1858. Nebraska, Oregon, Washington, Utah, New Mexico, all will be free States. When Texas sends down a pendulous branch, which takes independent root, a tree of freedom will grow up therefrom. Western Texas will ere long be a free State. She is half ready now. Freedom will be organized in the Mesilla Valley. If we acquire new territory from Mexico, it will be honestly got, and democracy and Christianity spread thither. If Central America, Nicaragua, or other new soil, become ours, it will be all consecrated to freedom, the inalienable rights of man. Slavery will be abolished in the District of Columbia.

3. There will be no more national attempts to destroy freedom in the North, but continual efforts to restrict slavery. The democratic parts of the Constitution, long left a dead letter therein, will be developed, and its despotic clauses, exceptionable there, and clearly hostile to its purpose and its spirit, will be overruled and forced out of sight, like odious features of the British Common Law. There will be a Pacific Railroad, perhaps more than one, and national attempts will be made to develope the national resources of the Continent by free labour. The South will share with the North in this better organization of things and persons, this development of industry and education.

4. And what will be the future of Kansas! Her 114,000 square miles will soon fill up with educated and industrious men, each sharing the labour and the government of society, helping forward the wisdom and the progress of all—aiding the organization of Christianity and democracy.

What a development there will be of agriculture, mining, manufactures, commerce! What farms and shops! What canal and railroads! What schools, newspapers, libraries, meeting-houses! Yes, what families of rich, educated, happy and religious men and women? In A.D. 1900, there will be 2,000,000 men in Kansas, with cities like Providence, Worcester—perhaps like Chicago and Cincinnati. She will have more miles of railroad than Maryland, Virginia and both the Carolinas can now boast. Her land will be worth $20 an acre, and her total wealth will be 500,000,000 of money. Six hundred thousand children will learn in her schools.

5. There will be a ring of Freedom all round the slave States, and in them slavery itself will decline. The Theory of Bondage will be given up—like the theory of theocracy and monarchy—and attempts will be made to get rid of the Fact. Then, the North will help the Southern States in that noble work. There will never be another slave State, nor another slave President; no more kidnapping in the North; no more chains round the Court-house in Boston; no more preaching against the first principles of all humanity.

Three hundred years ago, our fathers in Europe were contending for liberty. Then, it was freedom of conscience, which the progressive force of the people demanded. Julius the Third had just been Pope—who gave the Cardinalship vacated at his election to the keeper of his monkeys—and Paul IV. sat in his stead in St. Peter's chair, and represented in general for all Europe the regressive power, while bloody Mary and bloodier Philip sat on England's throne, and, incited thereto by the Pontiff, smote at the rights of man. Two hundred years ago our fathers in the two Englands—Old and New—did grim battle against monarchic despotism; one Charles slept in his bloody grave, another wandered through the elegant debaucheries of the Continent, while Cromwell and Milton made liberal England abidingly famous and happy. One hundred years ago other great battling for the rights of man was getting begun. Ah, me! the strife is not ended. The question laid over by our fathers is adjourned to us for settlement. It is the old question between the substance of man and his accidents—labour and capital, the people and a class.

Shall the 350,000 slaveholders own all the 1,400,000 square miles of territory not yet made States, and drive all Northern men away from it? or shall it belong to the people? Shall this vast area be like Arkansas and South Carolina, or like Michigan and Connecticut? That is the *immediate* question.

Shall slavery spread over all the United States and root out freedom from the land; or shall freedom spread wide her blessed boughs till the whole continent is fed by her fruit, and lodged beneath her arms, her very leaves, for the healing of the nations? That is the *ultimate* question.

Now, it is for America to choose between these two alternatives, and choose quick. For America? No, for the North. You and I are to decide this mighty question. I take it the Anglo-Saxon will not forego his ethnological instinct for freedom and the historic habit of two thousand years; he will progressively tend to Christianity and Democracy. He will put slavery down, peaceably if he can, forcibly if he must.

We may now end this crime against humanity by ballots; wait a little and only with sword and blood can this deep and widening blot of shame be scoured out from the Continent. No election since that first and unopposed of Washington has been so important to America as this now before us. Once the nation chose between Aaron Burr and Thomas Jefferson. When the choice is between slavery and freedom, will the North choose wrong? Any railroad company may, by accident, elect a knave for President, but when he has been convicted for squandering their substance on himself, and blowing up their engines, nay, destroying their sons and daughters, will the stockholders choose the swindler forever?

I think we shall put slavery down? I have small doubt of that. But shall we do it now and without tumult, or by and by with a dreadful revolution, St. Domingo massacres and the ghastly work of war?

Shall America decide for wickedness, extend the dark places of the earth, filled up fuller with the habitations of cruelty? Then our ruin is certain—is also just. The power of self-rule, which we were not fit for, will pass from our hands, and the halter of vengeance will grip our neck, and America will lie there on the shore of the sea, one other victim who fell as the fool dieth. What a ruin it would be! Come away—I cannot look even in fancy on so foul a sight!

If we decide for the inalienable rights of man, for present welfare, future progress; for Christianity and Democracy, and so organize things and men that all may share the labour and government of society, then, what a prospect is before us! How populous, how rich will the land become! Ere long, her borders wide will embrace the hemisphere—how full of men! If we are faithful to our duty, one day, America, youngest of nations, shall sit on the Cordilleras, the youthful mother of the Continent of States. Behind her are the Northern lakes, the Northern forest bounded by Arctic ice and snow; on her left hand swells the Atlantic; the Pacific on her right—both beautiful with the white fleets of commerce, giving fragrance all around the world; while before her spreads out the Southern land, from Terra Firma to the Isles of Fire, blessed with the Saxon mind and conscience, heart and soul; and underneath her eye, into the lap of the Hemisphere, the Amazon, and the Mississippi—classic rivers of freedom—pour the riches of either Continent; and behind her, before her, on either hand, all round and underneath her eye, extends the New World of humanity, the Commonwealth of the people, justice, the law thereof, and infinite perfection, God—a Church without a bishop, a State without a king, a community without a lord, a family with no holder of slaves. With welfare for the present and progress for the future, she will show the nations how divine a thing a people can be made.

FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY PROCEEDINGS IN EDINBURGH.

To the Editor of the Scottish Press.

SIR: The appearance of a circular dated 27th March, 1856, signed "Clara V. Reid," and "Helen Arthur," requesting a meeting "for the purpose of forming in Edinburgh a Ladies' Society, based on Christian principles, to aid in the abolition of slavery in the United States of America," followed by an advertisement, announcing that the object contemplated had been duly accomplished by the formation of the *Edinburgh Ladies' New Association for the Abolition of Slavery*, has suggested the few following remarks, which are respectfully submitted to all who feel an interest in the subject, but especially to the ladies of Edinburgh, who have been solicited to withdraw or to withhold their offerings to the anti-slavery cause from a Society which has done good service in that department of Christian philanthropy, and entrust them to a new society whose fidelity to anti-slavery principles and practice remains to be tested in the field of conflict.

It is well known to all amongst us, who have taken any interest in anti-slavery proceedings, that the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society* is the only body to whom belongs the honour of having borne aloft the anti-slavery banner in our northern metropolis for many years past; and, without fear of contradiction, it is maintained, that the ladies who have had the direction of its affairs, and especially its excellent secretary, Miss Wigham, have laboured with unflattering devotedness in promoting the end of its organization.

In answer to the charge by implication contained in the circular referred to, viz., that it is not "based on Christian principles," it is deemed sufficient to draw attention to the constitution of the Society printed on the second page of its last annual report, and to the Christian character and standing of the ladies who have the direction of its movements, to show the utter groundlessness of the impeachment.

The organic law of the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society*, it will be admitted, is quite as careful about "Christian principles" as the constitution of the [gentlemen's] *Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society*, formed on the 20th of June, 1854. For while the former is silent about creeds, the gentlemen's society, among others, *unanimously* adopted the following as the *third* section of its constitution: "That this Society shall consist of all persons, *without distinction of creeds, country or complexion*, who shall agree in the principles above set forth, and subscribe to its funds." Here is "a platform," to use an Americanism, sufficiently broad for "all parties and sects of abolitionists." However, considering the character and standing of the gentlemen who took part in the proceedings at the formation of the society, among whom were the Rev. W. Reid, Rev. I. R. Campbell, and Dr. Candlish, a sense of propriety forbids our charging it as not "based on Christian principles." And it is respectfully submitted, that the character and standing of the office-bearers and managers of the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society* ought equally to have protected the Society over which they preside from such a foolish, because unfounded, charge.

Some of the associates of the ladies who published the circular, with a zeal worthy of a better cause, have been going about working on the fears of the timid and the prejudices of the ignorant, telling them that the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society* cooperates with infidel abolitionists. To dismiss this charge, it might be enough to meet it with an unqualified denial, and to remind those who prefer it that "Christian principles" forbid the bearing false witness against our neighbour. However, instead of so acting, the following remarks are offered touching the fact, which, it is alleged, justifies the charge. The fact referred to is, that the Society aided in defraying the expenses incurred for gas, &c. on a recent occasion when an American gentleman, who, it is supposed, is ecclesiastically a Unitarian, delivered an address in South College street Church, on the pro-slavery doings of the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions." Well, it is admitted that it did so. But do the ladies who have got up the "new association" mean to insist that a man is not competent to testify to a matter of fact unless he avows his belief in the Thirty-nine Articles, the Westminster Confession of Faith, or some other orthodox standard? We "guess" not, neither do we believe that the intelligent Christianity of Scotland will endorse such an arrant folly. There is probably no man in America who has more thorough knowledge of the actings of slavery in the State and in the Church than the gentleman referred to. And is it then a betrayal of "Christian principles," or a sin against orthodoxy, to listen to him while he testifies, or even to furnish him with an opportunity to testify, regarding that which he knows of the horrors of American slavery? But, whoever maintains the affirmative, it is submitted that the *Edinburgh Ladies' New Association for the Abolition of Slavery* ought to be the last party to take up such a position, viz., that it is wrong to countenance a man who is labouring to destroy slavery, simply because he is a Unitarian, when the department of anti-slavery work on which they have deliberately entered, and in which the beginning of the Society's strength is to be put forth, is duly considered. The attention of the ladies of Edinburgh who have been invited to support the new Society, based, as they are told, on "Christian principles," is respectfully requested to the following facts:

The advertisement of the *Edinburgh Ladies' New Association* tells the world that their efforts in the anti-slavery cause at present are to be put forth in getting up a "*boz for the Rochester Bazaar.*" Now, this bazaar is got up to aid the *Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*—a Society which, it is reported, has laboured with commendable zeal in the good work. But the "principles" of the Society, and the parties on whom a considerable portion of its funds are expended, are not such as the ladies of the Edinburgh New Association can *consistently* support, while they continue to occupy the position which they have taken up as the accusers of the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society*. A few words will make this obvious to all, except those who are determined not to be convinced.

In the fourth annual report of the *Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*, published last year in *Frederick Douglass's Paper*—a very interesting report, evidently drawn up by the indefatigable Secretary of the Society—we find the following paragraph: "In closing this report, the Society desire to reiterate their determination to retain the independent position they have chosen, and to cooperate with ALL [the capitals are in the report] whose love for the anti-slavery cause rises superior to their connection with any particular party or sect of Abolitionists." The report also pleads "for means to enable us (the Society) to bring eloquent advocates of liberty to our platform."—Signed "EMILY WARD FOGG, *President*; "JULIA GRIFFITHS," *Secretary*.

In the same paper which contains the report there is a notice of a course of anti-slavery lectures, got up by the Ladies' Society, and signed "JULIA GRIFFITHS," *Secretary*. In the list given of these "eloquent advocates of liberty," we have the names of four clergymen; the three first on the list are celebrated *Unitarian* preachers, viz., Rev. John Pierpont, Rev. T. W. Higginson and Rev. Theodore Parker.

There are also other two paragraphs, over the initials J. G., in one of which there is regret that Mr. Pierpont received "so cold a greeting" when he delivered his lecture, but intimating that he "preached twice in the Unitarian Church on Sunday, and had a large congregation in the morning and evening." The other promises an "intellectual feast" to those who attend the lecture of Mr. Higginson. These things are not referred to as ground of reproach to these gentlemen—or as matter of complaint against the *Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*, for engaging them as lecturers on the slavery question; but to show the ladies of the *Edinburgh New Association for the Abolition of Slavery* how untenable is the position which